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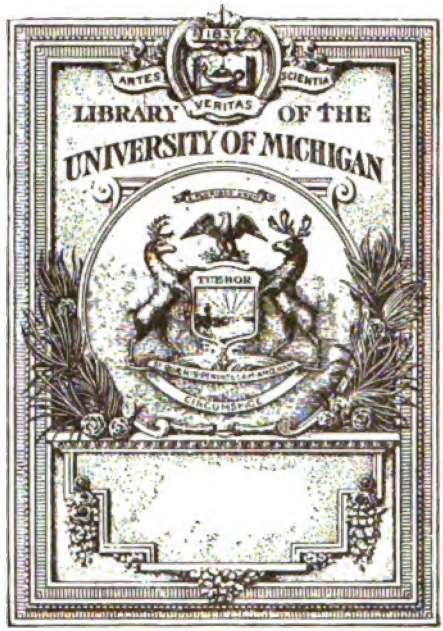
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NAPOLEON IN HIS OWN DEFENCE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

NAPOLEON
AND
HIS FELLOW
TRAVELLERS

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED
London, New York, Toronto & Melbourne



Napoleon on the Northumberland.
From a sketch presented to Theodore Hook.

NAPOLEON IN HIS OWN DEFENCE

BEING A REPRINT OF CERTAIN LETTERS WRITTEN BY NAPOLEON FROM ST. HELENA TO LADY CLAVERING, AND A REPLY BY THEODORE HOOK



WITH WHICH ARE INCORPORATED NOTES AND AN ESSAY ON NAPOLEON AS A MAN OF LETTERS

BY

CLEMENT SHORTER

WITH FIVE PLATES

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1910



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INTRODUCTION

No one, it may be said, should venture without an apology to add yet another to the forty thousand or more books and pamphlets that treat of Napoleon. Possibly it may be thought an adequate excuse when I suggest that I am not here actually adding to that vast mass of Napoleonic literature. The two thin books, published in 1817 and 1819, that will be found reprinted within these covers, whatever success they may have had in their day, are quite out of print. Both are inaccessible to the majority of readers, and Theodore Hook's little volume is particularly so.

As a collector of books upon what Lord Rosebery has picturesquely called "The Last Phase," I have found it impossible to obtain a copy of Hook's pamphlet. I am therefore grateful to my publisher in that he has permitted me to secure it for my own shelves in a very much better type than the rare original. Here, in any case, is a companion volume to one that I published in 1908, under the title of "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers." It will be remembered that this included William Warden's account of his voyage with the fallen Emperor on the *Northumberland*. That book was read by Napoleon at St. Helena. To it he made answer in the "Letters from the Cape," a book that was much reviewed at the time under the assumption that it was written by Las Cases. It has since been revealed that Napoleon was the author, and this gives it a much wider interest, and raises the very interesting question of Napoleon fighting

with his pen when he could no longer fight with his sword.

I am aware that many will ask the question that was asked by the *Times* at the publication of "Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers": "Does the interest in Napoleon's career justify the reproduction of all this literary lumber?" I was able to point out in a later issue of the *Times** that the "lumber" in question had brought me many letters of thanks from very unexpected quarters, including an ex-Cabinet Minister on the Liberal side, and an ex-Viceroy of India on the Conservative side in politics. Our present-day politics, indeed, are so remote from Napoleon's epoch that it should be possible to discuss him with the same detachment that we bring to the career of Alexander or Cæsar. But this seems an unattainable ideal. I heard two educated men summing up the character of Napoleon the other day. One called him a "cad," the other a "scamp," just as if they were passing judgment upon some objectionable contemporary of their acquaintance. One of these men has been three times a candidate for Parliament on the Liberal side, the other is a bulwark of the Conservative party, and has written important books. My explanation is that neither of these gentlemen had really studied Napoleon's career in all its aspects, but had only read this or that biography of him, with a marked preference for the violently anti-Bonapartist books. On the other hand, I have found advanced Liberals, as well as strong Conservatives, who are enthusiasts for Napoleon. This is as it should be, for Conservatives as well as Liberals of to-day may well separate themselves from the Tory and Whig politicians of the early days of the nineteenth century. Granted that Napoleon was at heart a thorough despot,

* *The Times Literary Supplement*, December 24, 1908.

whose point of view would now be intolerable, we may still be content to survey the permanent work he did on behalf of liberal ideals, and to contrast him with the Alexanders and Ferdinands, the George the Fourths and Louis the Eighteenths who afflicted the European peoples after his destruction.

But the purpose of a preface should be to conciliate rather than to antagonise. Let me therefore express a hope that these two little-known documents may prove of interest to those same kind enthusiasts who welcomed "Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers." To some few people I trust that this book will justify itself if only by virtue of the Appendix of certain hitherto unpublished letters from St. Helena written by Secretary Brooke. I have to thank Dr. Holland Rose for many courtesies and Mr. A. M. Broadley for the loan of a copy of Theodore Hook's rare pamphlet.

I

NAPOLEON AS A MAN OF LETTERS

NAPOLEON AS A MAN OF LETTERS

I

ALL the world thinks of Napoleon as a great soldier and a great administrator—Mr. Gladstone declared him to be the greatest man in both departments of life that the world has ever seen—but few there be who think of him as a distinguished man of letters. Yet here before me are some half-dozen editions of Napoleon's "Works," or fragments of such "Works," and they make indeed a formidable array of volumes.* The thirty-eight volumes of "Commentaires" and "Correspondance" are truly a noble set of folios. Probably no author of the past two hundred years has

* The following, among other books, have been consulted for the purposes of this essay:—

"Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène, par les généraux qui ont partagé sa captivité et publiés sur les manuscrits entièrements corrigés de la main de Napoléon, 1823–25."

"Œuvres choisies de Napoléon Bonaparte revue et augmentées, par M. B. . . ., Général de division de l'ex-vieille garde." Six volumes. Philippe: Paris, 1829.

"Œuvres littéraires et politiques de Napoléon." Paris: H. L. Delloye, 1840.

"Commentaires de Napoléon Premier." Six volumes. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867.

"Correspondance de Napoléon Premier." Thirty-two volumes. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1869.

"Napoléon Bonaparte: Œuvres littéraires, publiées d'après les originaux et les meilleurs textes, avec une introduction, des notes historiques et littéraires et un index," par Tancrède Martel. Four volumes. Savini: Paris, 1888.

"Memoires et Œuvres de Napoléon," par Tancrède Martel. Albin Michel: Paris, 1910.

been quite so well treated, for this was the monument erected by Napoleon III. to the memory of his great uncle, and it is scarcely less splendid than the marble one that the last of the Bourbon kings erected in the Hôtel des Invalides to the great dead enemy of his race. Yet although these thirty-eight volumes provide an abundance of good reading, and are essential to a complete understanding of the Napoleonic story, they form only a fragment of the literary achievement of the Emperor. Many letters are not there, and volume after volume has been published* that supplements the official collection. No one has, however, published the drama "The Count of Essex"—Mr. Sloane calls it a novel—with which the young Bonaparte, whose mind was then bent entirely upon a literary career, opened his first campaign. Dramas, tragedies, essays, fill up the leisure of these early years. At the age of 21 he had written a "History of Corsica," which he dedicated to Paoli, and of which we are told that he sent the manuscript to the Corsican patriot for his approval. Paoli, it is said, retained the manuscript but failed to acknowledge it, and finally, when worried about the neglected treasure, wrote that the consciousness of having done his duty sufficed for him in his old age; and for the rest "history should not be written in youth." As against this story, we have it recorded of Paoli that he said, "This young man is formed on the ancient model. He is one of Plutarch's men." Only a few fragments of the "History of Corsica" survive,† but an enemy of Bonapartism has described them as "un des plus beaux monuments de notre langue, l'expression d'une âme déjà effrénée,

* "Letters to Joseph," "Letters to Josephine," "New Letters," etc.

† M. Libri, in his "Souvenirs de la Jeunesse de Bonaparte," tells us that the manuscript of this history is still in existence, and forms part of the collection of papers which were confided by the Emperor to his uncle, Cardinal Fesch.

mais encore pure."* At the Academy of Lyons, in 1791, Napoleon competed for a prize on the question, "What are the Truths and Feelings most essential to impress upon Mankind for their happiness?"† According to Las Cases, after he became Emperor, Napoleon was one day conversing with Talleyrand upon the subject of that essay, and shortly afterwards the latter presented him with his own manuscript, which he had procured from the archives of the Academy at Lyons. The Emperor took it and, after reading a few pages, threw it into the fire, saying, "One can never observe everything."‡ But Las Cases is wrong in stating that Napoleon won the prize, and also in implying that his essay was never printed. The successful candidate was Daunou.§ Some of Napoleon's biographers devote much space to adverse criticism of this essay, but prize essays by young students, however clever, are usually of little permanent value. The examiner of the essays, one Vasselier, reported upon it:—

"This essay may have been written by a man of feeling; but it is too incongruous, too desultory, and the style and arrangement too bad, to fix the attention."

Young Bonaparte was more successful with his next effort, his "Lettre à Buttafuoco," which was com-

* M. Aulard, the author of a well-known book on the French Revolution, in *La Justice*, reviewing the four volumes of Tancrède Martel's "Œuvres littéraires" in 1888.

† "Discours sur les Vérités et les Sentiments qu'il importe le plus d'inculquer aux Hommes pour leur Bonheur."

‡ Las Cases, "Mémoire de Sainte-Hélène." Las Cases says that Talleyrand regretted not keeping a copy, but a copy had been made by M. de Hauterive, who *may*, however, have planted a forgery upon the world.

§ Pierre Claude François Daunou (1761-1840), a French historian, born at Boulogne-sur-Mer. Daunou also had an essay crowned by the Academy of Nîmes on "The Influence of Boileau upon French Literature" four years earlier. He was Napoleon's senior by eight years. He wrote many historical works during the Consulate and Empire, and held the position of Librarian at the Pantheon.

menced in Corsica in January, 1791. We find him correcting the proof-sheets at Dôle in February of the same year, and in March he is distributing the pamphlet at Auxonne. The unfriendly Lanfrey proclaims this as the best of all Bonaparte's early writings—better than the more famous "Souper de Beaucaire" of two years later. This letter to Matteo Buttafuoco* is an impassioned appeal on behalf of Corsica, and a defence of Paoli against the unjust attacks of Buttafuoco, who was the deputy for the island in the French National Assembly. It shows Bonaparte mourning for the loss of his country's liberties, and it presents the young officer—as those who know him best recognise him—as a genuine lover of freedom, in these early years, at least. Even Lanfrey admits that "it is inspired by sincere and patriotic indignation, and written under the sway of strong emotion; it bears, in spite of a declamatory style that spoils it, traces of genuine feeling"; while another unfriendly biographer, Dr. Holland Rose, opens his popular "Life of Napoleon" with a quotation from this same "Letter." That Napoleon afterwards became an enthusiast for the French occupation and for France generally, in some aspects of its revolution, is only to indicate the arrival of enthusiasm tempered by practicality. Thousands of Englishmen were heartily in sympathy with France in the earlier stages of the Revolution. Bonaparte has now become an enthusiast for the French Revolution, and two years later, in July, 1793, he wrote the "Souper de Beaucaire" in support of the party that was obviously triumphant, and was certainly in the right.

* Matteo Buttafuoco (1730-1800), born in Corsica, served in the French army. He was one of the principal agents of Choiseul in bringing Corsica under the government of France. Later, his sympathies went with the *émigrés* and the alliance of Corsica with England.

Captain Bonaparte was stationed at Avignon in the month of July, 1793, when he received orders to occupy Beaucaire and Tarascon, the former associated in the minds of the present-day world with the incomparable love story of Aucassin and Nicolette; the latter with the humour of Alphonse Daudet. Dining that evening in the inn at Beaucaire with four travellers who had arrived for the fair, he here obtained the idea for the "Souper de Beaucaire." In this dialogue he states the case for the Girondins on the one side and for the Mountain on the other. He makes five wayfarers—a native of Nîmes, a manufacturer from Montpellier, two merchants of Marseilles, and a soldier from Avignon—each gives his opinions upon current affairs when accidentally thrown together at a little inn in Beaucaire. Let it be admitted that so far the literary achievement is not a great one.* Napoleon's style was incorrect, inharmonious, over-exuberant; still, as has been happily said, he was capable of rendering great thoughts in a great manner, and even now his personality dominated the language as it came to dominate everything else. Napoleon clearly loved the art of writing as he loved the art of war; but in November of this year, '93, came the earliest triumph of the young Artillery officer at Toulon, and Napoleon's career as a maker of books was ended for many a day. Not until he reaches St. Helena does he again subordinate everything to authorship, this time, however, with Cæsar and Xenophon in his mind. The interval was filled with the brilliant achievements in war and administration with which the whole world has rung, but it has also its great

* Napoleon himself recognised his earlier deficiency, for in one of his conversations with Las Cases he, after striking out the superfluous passages in a now forgotten historian, remarked that he was too diffuse. He had in his youth, he said, been much to blame in this respect himself. He may justly be said to have reformed thoroughly afterwards.

literary achievement in the multitude of remarkable letters, dispatches and manifestos which form not the least part of Napoleon's permanent achievement, although the most human note of these wonderful years is to be found in the love letters to Josephine.

Let me not leave this early aspect of Napoleon's literary career without reference to his efforts in verse. Perhaps the most distinctive of these was the following fable, entitled :—

LE LAPIN, LE CHIEN ET LE CHASSEUR.

César, chien d'arrêt renommé,
Mais trop enflé de son mérite,
Tenait arrêté dans son gîte
Un malheureux lapin de peur inanimé :
" Rends-toi," lui cria-t-il d'une voix de tonnerre,
Qui fit au loin trembler les habitants des bois ;
" Je suis César connu par ses exploits,
Et dont le nom remplit toute la terre."
A ce grand nom, Jeannot lapin,
Recommandant à Dieu son âme pénitente,
Demande d'une voix tremblante :
" Très sérénissime mâtin,
Si je me rends, quel sera mon destin ?
Tu mourras. Je mourrai, dit la bête innocente.
Et si je fuis ? Ton trépas est certain.
Quoi ! reprit l'animal qui se nourrit de thym,
Des deux côtés, je dois perdre la vie !
Que votre illustre Seigneurie
Veuille me pardonner, puisqu'il me faut mourir,
Si j'ose tenter de m'enfuir."
Il dit, et fuit en héros de garenne.
Caton l'aurait blâmé, je dis qu'il n'eut pas tort ;
Car le chasseur le voit à peine
Qu'il l'ajuste, le tire—et le chien tombe mort.
Que dirait de ceci notre bon La Fontaine ?
Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera.
J'approuve fort cette morale-là.*

* I am indebted to my friend, Dr. George Sigerson, of Dublin, for the following translation of Napoleon's fable, which was composed at Valence

II

It is not without interest to survey Napoleon's field of reading and culture during these early years when only he had much time for devotion to books. It may be remembered that French was to him a foreign tongue. He was by race an Italian brought up upon the Corsican dialect. He had literary ancestors withal! One of these in Florence had written a comedy "La Veuve." Napoleon was shown the manuscript in the Imperial Library during his brief visit to Florence in July, 1796.

in 1786, probably at the request of Mdlle. du Colombier, and was first published in 1826:—

THE RABBIT, THE DOG AND THE HUNTER—A FABLE

Cæsar, a pointer of renown,
Clever indeed but quite too vain,
Had stopped upon the grassy plain
A poor half-lifeless rabbit, crouching down.
"Surrender!" cried he, in a voice of thunder,
That made the far-off forest creatures moan.
"Cæsar am I, whose great deeds are known,
And whose name fills a mighty world with wonder!"
At that name, Bunny sighs,
Commends to God his penitent soul, and cries:
"Most potent, most serene One, say,
If I surrender, what's my destiny?"
"Thou'lt die!" "Die!" said the victim, in dismay,
"And if I flee?" "'Tis certain death!"
"What!" he exclaims, with panting breath,
"On both sides doomed to loss of life am I—
May't please your gracious Majesty
T' excuse me, since that I must die,
If now I seek to fly!"—
He said, and swift the warren-hero fled.
Cato had blamed him, but not I.
For as the quick flight caught the hunter's eye,
He aims, he fires—the dog falls dead!
Of this what had our good La Fontaine said?
"Aide toi, le ciel t'aidera."
I much approve that wise old saw.

When he revisited Brienne in 1814, where he had been at school from his tenth to his fifteenth year (1779—1784), he found that everything seemed changed —"the only thing that seemed familiar to me was a tree under which, when I was a pupil, I read Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata."* The history of Corsica recalls that he might have been born an English subject and even on English soil, for the island of Corsica might well have come under the dominion of Great Britain in 1768. There was just a possibility that our Government might then have thrown in its lot with Paoli when he landed on our shores to appeal against French aggression, and, in any case, Charles Buonaparte and his family, had they perchance taken the side of Paoli, might have crossed to England with the aged patriot, and the young Napoleon would then have been born an Englishman.

The original spelling of Napoleon's name was Buonaparte, but he suppressed the "u" during his first campaign in Italy. Bourrienne says that his motive for so doing was merely to render the spelling conformable with the pronunciation and to abridge his signature. But it may safely be assumed that the newer spelling was intended to identify him with his newly-adopted land, the land that he had come to love so much, and with which his name will be for ever so gloriously associated. It was one of the little meannesses of English and Royalist writers to insist upon the "u" in order to emphasise his alien origin. It was by the merest chance that he was born a French subject, and his career curiously repeated itself at two points. He began and ended with literature. The poems, essays and dramas of the beginning of his career may be printed side by side with the memoirs and reminiscences of the St. Helena period. And again, he began and ended as a student of the great rival languages. We see him

* Gourgaud's "Journal Inédit de Sainte-Hélène."

as a youth receiving instruction in the French language from the Sieur Dupuis, Vice-Principal of the Military College at Brienne,—manfully conquering the Corsican dialect. And we see him in his later years at St. Helena receiving instruction from Las Cases in the English language which might, if political forces had worked otherwise, have been the tongue of his adoption and of his triumphs, as French was to be. Never did he become a perfect adept at the French language, as the pedants understood it, but he became a truly great writer all the same. Did not Sainte-Beuve call him *One of the Masters of Speech?*

Bourrienne gives us the list of books that Napoleon took with him to Egypt. It was in Bonaparte's own handwriting. It included Plutarch's "Lives," Homer and Virgil, four volumes of Voltaire's works and four of Rousseau's. Tacitus and Thucydides, Le Sage's works in ten volumes, and forty volumes of English novels, and above all, "Ossian." The list which he gave to Bourrienne contained, that chronicler tells us, "some of those orthographical blunders which Bonaparte so frequently committed." For example, he spelt "Ossian" "Ocean"; "which," adds the biographer-secretary, "would have puzzled me not a little had I not known his predisposition for the Caledonian bard." Napoleon had first read "Ossian" in the Abbé Cesarotti's Italian translation, although there had been a French translation in 1777, and he was to give his patronage to another by Letourneur in 1810. The world has moved away from the standpoint by which Macpherson's "Ossian" was judged when it appeared. We all recall Dr. Johnson's almost unpardonable verdict when asked by Dr. Blair whether he thought that any man of a modern age could have written such poems. His reply was, "Yes, sir, many men, many women, and many children." The beauties of the poems

are now universally admitted, and we may accept the view of a well-qualified critic that "if Macpherson had been the sole author, he would have been one of the few poetic creators of the first rank." A certainly lofty form of expression, admirably adapted to raise the spirits of an army on the march, was doubtless derived in part from a study of "Ossian," in part from the Greek and Latin historians. Many critics of Napoleon have started with the Johnsonian view of "Ossian" usually combined with the ignorance that describes the Irish language as "Erse," and have thence proceeded to assume that Napoleon had read few books other than "Ossian," and had, in consequence, no power of expression save a certain empty rhetoric characterised by more of sound than of sense.

Madame de Rémusat, one of the people who systematically libelled Napoleon after he was powerless, thus writes of him in her "Memoirs":—

> The intellect of Bonaparte was most remarkable. It would be difficult, I think, to find, among men, a more powerful or comprehensive mind. It owed nothing to education; for, in reality, he was ignorant. He read but little, and that hurriedly; but he quickly seized upon the little he had learnt, and his imagination developed it so extensively that he might easily have passed for a well-educated man.

It will be recalled that Madame de Rémusat was in attendance upon the Empress Josephine. She wrote her impressions of Napoleon while employed at the Imperial Court, burnt them in fear on the return from Elba, and re-wrote them, when the lion was finally caged at St. Helena with the full measure of malice that a female politician has always at command. Her book is an extraordinary collection of easily demonstrated fiction, many of the false statements having been admittedly inspired by the arch-traitor Talleyrand. Madame de Rémusat is evidently as remote from the

truth when concerned with Napoleon's literary attainment, as when she discussed his political actions. Napoleon was from the very beginning of his career an exceptionally well-read man, and to have read wisely the best works of every country is the highest form of culture. It is probable that, in the whole history of the modern world, no other man of action was ever so keenly interested in books. Young Bonaparte had read everything that he could lay his hands on in those early days of studentship. At eighteen years of age he had devoured the works of Rousseau (of whom he said that without him the French Revolution would not have been), of Voltaire, and a large number of French authors. He was familiar with the "Arabian Nights," "Don Quixote," "Clarissa Harlowe," and much else of the lighter literature of Europe, before he commenced in earnest his career as a man of action. He had read also the Greek and Latin historians, and his favourite book was Plutarch's "Lives." When Napoleon ascended the throne of France he was not only the best read monarch in Europe, but probably by far the best endowed of all European monarchs since time began, not even excluding Frederick the Great.

III

We see Bonaparte at the age of twenty-seven as commander-in-chief of the Army of Italy, covering himself with glory, having served his apprenticeship alike to literature and to war. Except in the interval of the Egyptian expedition books are laid aside; henceforth for eighteen years there is a continuous career of activity, with extraordinary achievements in war and peace. We recall a succession of memorable victories in the

battlefield, we recall triumphs of administrative activity scarcely less memorable; nor do we forget the compilation of that Civil Code which no nation that received it has cared to abandon.* We remember, however, that during these years the making of literature was on the way, although unconsciously. The letters that the lover and husband wrote to his wife are among the deathless documents of that age; so also are many of the manifestos, addresses, and appeals to the soldiers. During these years Napoleon may be said to have always been writing, and much that he wrote will live. Dr. Holland Rose has happily reminded us that

"Cæsar, in the old world, was possibly the mental peer of Bonaparte in this majestic equipoise of the imaginative and practical qualities; but of Cæsar we know comparatively little; whereas the complex workings of the greatest mind of the modern world stand revealed in that storehouse of facts and fancies, the 'Correspondance de Napoléon.'"†

Let us, however, ask ourselves what impress did the First Consul and Emperor make upon his epoch. To that also Dr. Holland Rose has a word to say, but of less generous quality:—

"While he was rescuing a nation from chaos, and his eagles winged their flight to Naples, Lisbon, and Moscow, he found no original thinker worthily to hymn his praises; and the chief literary triumphs of his reign came from Châteaubriand, whom he impoverished, and Madame de Staël, whom he drove into exile."‡

* The Civil Code became law in 1804. After undergoing some slight modifications and additions, it was, in 1807, renamed the Code Napoléon. Its provisions had already, in 1806, been adopted in Italy. In 1810 Holland and the newly annexed coast-line of the North Sea as far as Hamburg, and even Lübeck on the Baltic, received it as the basis of their laws, as did the Grand Duchy of Berg in 1811. Indirectly it has also exerted an immense influence on the legislation of Central and Southern Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, and Spain; while many of the Central and South American States have also borrowed its salient features.—Rose's "Life of Napoleon," Vol. I., 293–4.

† "Life of Napoleon," Vol. I., 177.

‡ "Life of Napoleon," Vol. I., 298.

Dr. Rose does indeed admit that "in the realm of exact and applied science splendid discoveries adorned the Emperor's reign," and he does not see that the Emperor, were the charge of literary barrenness made to him, would have had a ready retort. Great literature is not produced during the glorious periods of monarchy so much as in an aftermath. Take for example in our own history, the periods of Elizabeth and Cromwell. Had Elizabeth died five years after the defeat of the Armada—that is to say ten years earlier than she did —all the achievements of Shakspere would have gone into the reign of James I. As it is "Othello" and "Macbeth" and the greatest of all the poet's masterpieces, "King Lear," belong to the reign of the latter monarch. Yet how obviously Shakspere was the product of the great Elizabethan period, and not of the first Stuart. Milton, again, assuredly belongs to Cromwell and not to Charles II. "Paradise Lost" could never have been written had it not had the great Cromwellian epoch as a background. When we think of Napoleon's impress upon literature we recall the work of Victor Hugo, of Beranger, and, even in a measure, of Heine. The children of a great dynasty are often destined to arrive at maturity when that dynasty has passed away. In this connection let us consider Napoleon's treatment of Madame de Staël, and of Châteaubriand. Madame de Staël was really a Swiss by birth, of German origin, who loved the gay life of Paris, and therefore she made it a cause of grievance that she was not allowed to dwell there. It would doubtless have been better if Napoleon had treated her with contempt. Half the successes she scored were fictitious successes derived from her persistent self-advertisement. She used her ready pen to air her grievances before Europe, and to every enemy of Napoleon she became a heroine, but she belonged to

that trying order—the political woman—whom all men in their hearts detest, although more than half of them are at present engaged in disguising the fact. If Napoleon had definitely and firmly refused to allow Madame de Staël to live anywhere within the radius of his power he would have been fully within his rights. As it was she was not actually interfered with at Coppet, her chosen home. Napoleon carried courtesy and self-restraint to their utmost limit. The picture presented by one of her biographers:—

"The little great man of empire pursuing with minutest inhumanity and egotism a helpless woman of genius—helpless, yet the greatest of her age, if not of any age."*

is merely empty rhetoric. The author of "Allemagne" was an enemy of her adopted country and Napoleon's, so much so that we are told by another biographer that "her picture hung above Baron de Stein's library table, as that of an ally in the struggle against the oppressor."† As an enemy of her country, and of her country's ruler, why should Madame de Staël have shrieked for greater toleration than she received? Napoleon remarked later on to Las Cases, that she "carried on hostilities with the one hand, and supplication with the other." The Emperor declared that "he left her the universe for the theatre of her achievements; that he resigned the rest of the world to her, and only reserved Paris to himself." But Madame de Staël wanted to live in Paris, and she shrieked in a way that all the world might hear. And the world that hated Napoleon sympathised with this hysterical woman of genius who always desired the limelight to be full upon her. "She cannot exist without a grievance," wrote Lord Byron of the author of "Corinne," after he

* "Madame de Staël; a Study of her Life and Times." By A. Stevens. Vol. II., page 79.

† "Madame de Staël." By Lady Blennerhassett. Vol. I., viii.

had met her in London, "and someone to see or read how much grief becomes her."*

That Napoleon permitted Madame de Staël to reside so long at Coppet is one of the many proofs of his magnanimity. He declared Coppet to be "an arsenal whence munitions of war were sent forth against him all over Europe." That he concerned about it at all is a proof of his genuine respect for letters. Indeed, it was Madame de Staël's son who drew from Napoleon a memorable comment. The young Staël had interviewed the Emperor on behalf of his mother, who desired to reside in Paris. The Emperor replied:—

"After all I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases . . . . She cannot refrain from meddling with politics."

De Staël: "I can assure your Majesty that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature."

Napoleon: "Ah, there it is! . . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. . . ."

It was this dabbling with politics under the guise of literature that made Châteaubriand also impossible. To say that Napoleon was responsible for the impoverishment of the distinguished author of "Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe" is to be wildly unfair. Napoleon had given him a post under the Consulate, a post at Rome under Cardinal Fesch, which might have led to many things,

* At one moment only in her later years had Madame de Staël a generous impulse towards Napoleon. "I will not *myself* abandon myself to declamations against Napoleon," she wrote after Waterloo. "He did what was natural for the restoration of his power; and his march from Cannes to Paris was one of the grandest conceptions of audacity that can be cited from history."

but Châteaubriand was a young man in a hurry. It was not enthusiasm of loyalty to the Bourbons or disgust at what many considered worse than a crime—a blunder—the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, that made Châteaubriand resign the new post that was given him.* Even that fairest of all writers on such questions, Sainte-Beuve, comes to the conclusion that it was the slowness of promotion that disgusted him. Châteaubriand would dabble in politics, but he became the enemy of every side in turn. In 1814 he wrote his famous pamphlet "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons," and delighted the men of the Restoration, although one has only to read in it the unctuous praise of the Prince Regent who had given the Bourbons back to France, to find that here behind great literary gifts, was an unbalanced charlatanry. The time came (while Napoleon was at St. Helena, and regaining his popularity in France, of which he was later, when dead, to become once more the idol), when Châteaubriand took occasion to unsay half what he had said concerning the fallen Emperor, whom he had once compared to Nero. The time came, indeed, (but this was in 1824) when even Louis XVIII. remarked of Châteaubriand—"*I do not wish to see that man again.*" Sainte-Beuve has very neatly said that from his resignation after the murder of the Duc d'Enghien until his death (from 1804 to 1848) he spent forty-two years out of forty-four in opposition and in the sulks—this was his element. After this

* When Napoleon had read "Atala" he became interested in Châteaubriand, who dedicated the second edition of his "Génie du Christianisme" to him. He sent him to Rome as first secretary to the Ambassador, Cardinal Fesch, knowing his uncle's deficiencies. Everyone was surprised when the First Consul made Châteaubriand Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vallais. This appointment fell to him simultaneously with the execution of the Duc d'Enghien. Probably it was declined quite as much because the new Ambassador did not think it good enough, although other people thought it too good, as on account of his resentment or horror at the supposed crime.—*See* Bourrienne's "*Memoirs.*"

one hopes that Dr. Holland Rose will reconsider his decision as to Napoleon's relations to literature. It would be as unfair to charge the Emperor during his thirteen or fourteen years of paramount authority with not having produced a great literature as it would be to charge the late King Edward VII. of England with a similar crime. During King Edward's ten years' reign —years of prosperity and peace, years of progress and even of joyousness—Great Britain produced no single writer of first-class importance. That power of producing new great writers is not under the control of kings. On the other hand, with Napoleon there was a wonderful aftermath of which the foundations were laid by the great Emperor. The story of the movement of education and of scholarship during his reign would take too long to recapitulate here, but it may truly be said that Napoleon found the vast masses of France ignorant and that he left them comparatively educated.

IV

NAPOLEON as a man of Letters is at his highest point in his proclamations, his despatches, his correspondence. Sainte-Beuve has remarked upon the extraordinary restraint of some of those proclamations and speeches. He draws a great distinction between the earlier Bonaparte, coming from a semi-savage island, placed in a military school, and devoted to mathematical studies, and who was somewhat too declamatory in his methods, and the later Bonaparte of the Consulate and the Empire. In this middle period of his greatness Sainte-Beuve compares his writing with that of Pascal and tells us that it offers a worthy pendant in the

most perfect styles of antiquity, and is comparable, of its kind, to Xenophon and Cæsar. The greatest of European literary critics does not fail of quotations to support his position. One recalls the proclamation with which he took command of the Army in Italy —that phenomenal opportunity which "made" him. We remember Marmont's account of how this happened. The young soldier's discussions with the Directory as to the way the campaign should be conducted; their instructions to their general, Schérer, to carry out a certain plan; the general's abrupt reply that the man who had drawn up the new plan had better carry it through. Bonaparte is sent forward—a mere boy—to take command of many an older officer. We remember his address:

"Soldiers, you are naked, badly fed. Government owes you much; it can give you nothing. . . . I will lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. . . . There you will find honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, can you want courage or firmness? . . ."

And then the continuous flood of letters, commands, exhortations. There has never been anything like it. We take down from our shelves the thirty-two volumes of the "Correspondence." There is something interesting at every point. The letters are really in the first twenty-eight volumes. There are 22,066 of them altogether. The four volumes are made up of Napoleon's accounts of his campaign, of his *précis* of the wars of Julius Cæsar and of Frederick II., his notes on Marengo on the 18th brumaire, and his accounts of his campaigns in Egypt and in Syria. These 22,000 "letters" include his proclamations.

"Each of his steps henceforth," says Sainte-Beuve, "is marked by an address, by one of those historical words which one retains because they are illuminated by glory. He had a grand appropriateness; he divines the things of the past which one ought to know;

he borrows from history only what fits his purposes. Hannibal, the Roman legions, Alexander—he cites them at the right moment, and does not overdo them; they are familiar things to him."*

Then there are the love-letters to Josephine, which assuredly make admirable reading; and the letters to Joseph; and, lastly, the mass of letters collected from all quarters to supplement the official correspondence. Any man who is always in action should make a good letter-writer—he has always a story to tell. But most men of action have made very poor letter writers, and so also, curiously enough, have most men of letters. Yet to those who have perused any portion of Napoleon's correspondence it recalls vivid pictures that remain in the memory.

Then there is the Napoleon of the "Commentaries." Napoleon's "Commentaries," or "Commentaires de Napoléon Premier," are a luxurious edition published by Napoleon III. of the writings dictated at St. Helena, together with some of the earlier work. They are in six folio volumes. They include his wonderful scheme for abridging into one consecutive narrative the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Prince Eugène and Frederick the Great. Napoleon said that the history of these campaigns—eighty-four in number—was the only school for the art of war, but he proposed to abridge these and to add to them an account of his own forty campaigns. His theory was that all these wars by the greatest generals of all time, in spite of the differences of place and of means, were conducted upon the same principles and guided by the same rules. He laid down his theory in a most striking manner. All that was really achieved was a little book bearing the title of "Précis des Guerres de César par Napoléon,"

* "Causeries du Lundi," by C. A. Sainte-Beuve. "Memoirs of Napoleon." Trechmann's translation is here given.

published first in 1836, but in the "Commentaires" you will find many supplemental documents. You will also find the whole of the material contained in the eight volumes dictated to Montholon and Gourgaud to which we have referred, the fragment of the "History of Corsica," and an account of his career in Egypt. In Volume III. you have the Campaigns in Syria and his impressions of the Directory. In Volume IV. you have his own version of the 18th brumaire, his account of successive battles, and of the war in La Vendée. Volume V. contains his story of the battle of Waterloo and of the return from the Island of Elba. Volume VI. his note upon the art of war, and all that he achieved of his great scheme for summarising the campaigns of his great predecessors, Turenne, Frederick II., Julius Cæsar, and Alexander. Altogether these volumes are second only in interest to the "Correspondance."

Finally, there is Napoleon as the friend of literary men in this period. It is true that there was no writer of first-class importance among his subjects during his too brief reign. We have shown that the two most popular writers, Madame de Staël and Châteaubriand, were impossible. Both were equally hysterical, both were alike outrageously unpatriotic. Napoleon said to Bourrienne after a performance of *Cinna:* "If a man like Corneille were living in my time I would make him my Prime Minister. It is not his poetry that I most admire; it is his powerful understanding, his vast knowledge of the human heart." He told Las Cases, long years afterwards at St. Helena, that if Corneille had lived in his day he would have made him a Prince. But, happily, Napoleon was destined to come in contact with one of the world's great men of letters—Goethe. Perhaps the high position of Napoleon in letters is best emphasised by turning to the accounts of the interviews between

Goethe and the Emperor.* Napoleon had assembled all the European sovereigns at the Congress at Erfurt. There were, beside the Emperor Napoleon, and the Czar Alexander, four kings and thirty-four princes. Every hour, every minute, of Napoleon's time was crowded with its official duties, but the moment the Emperor heard that Goethe was in Erfurt he commanded his appearance at an audience at eleven o'clock the next morning. The date was October 1st, 1808. Napoleon was already the hero of fifty pitched battles, Jena and Austerlitz among the latest; Goethe was already the author of "Werther," "Faust," "Hermann und Dorothea"—at least fifty volumes. Napoleon had only read one of these, "Werther," but he had read it seven times, and had cherished it as a companion in Egypt. Napoleon was delighted with Goethe's personal appear-

* I like the account in Thiers's "History of the Consulate and the Empire":—"Napoleon desired that French Letters should contribute to the splendour of the reunion, and ordered the administration of the theatres to send to Erfurt the leading French actors, and the foremost of all, Talma, to perform there *Cinna, Andromaque, Mahomet, Œdipe*. He excluded comedy, although he valued the immortal works of Molière as they deserved; but, he said, they are not understood in Germany. We must show the Germans the beauty, the grandeur, of our tragic drama; they are more capable of comprehending them than of penetrating the depth of Molière. . . . After a splendid repast a ball assembles the most brilliant German society. Goethe and Wieland are there. Napoleon left that society and went into the corner of a drawing-room to have a long conversation with the two celebrated German writers. He spoke with them of Christianity, of Tacitus—that historian who was the terror of tyrants, whose name he uttered without fear, he said with a smile. He maintained that Tacitus had a little overdrawn the gloomy picture of his time and that as a painter he was not simple enough to be quite true. Then he passed on to modern literature, compared it with the ancient, showed himself always the same in the matter of art as in the matter of politics—an advocate of rule, or orderly beauty—and, speaking of the drama which imitates Shakespeare, which mixes up tragedy and comedy, the terrible and the burlesque, he said to Goethe: 'I am astonished that a great mind like yours *does not love the distinct kinds*.' A profound word that very few critics of our days are capable of comprehending."

ance. "*Voilà un homme!*" he exclaimed when Goethe entered. He first inquired about Goethe's dramas, and he was reminded by Daru, who was present, that Goethe had translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*. "That is not a good play," replied the Emperor, and then gave a very detailed exposition of how improper it is that a great world-conqueror should be made to give an improper description of himself. After that he turned the conversation to "Werther," and Goethe now learned for the first time that Napoleon was one of his readers.* The interview lasted an hour, and it is clear that there was no courtier-like sycophancy in Goethe's appreciation of the Emperor's conversation. Five days later Goethe had another conversation with Napoleon—this time at a ball. "You ought to write a *Death of Cæsar*, but in a grander style than Voltaire," Napoleon said. "The world should be shown how Cæsar would have made it happy if he had been given time to realise his high-minded plans. You come to Paris. I demand it of you, by all means. There you will have a broader view of the world. You will then find an over-abundance of material for your poems." One is reminded of Napoleon's sigh at St. Helena, "If only I had reigned for forty years!" The Emperor also conversed with Wieland, who has left his own account of the interview. A little later both poets received the Cross of the Legion of Honour. "I have never seen a calmer, simpler, gentler and less assuming man," declared Wieland. "The greatest understanding the world has ever seen," was Goethe's verdict to Boisserée in 1815—after Napoleon had fallen. "I will gladly confess," he wrote to his friend Cotta at the time, "that nothing higher and more pleasing could have happened to me in all my life than to have stood before the French

* Belschowsky's "Life of Goethe," Vol. II., 411.

Emperor on such a footing."* He was delighted, many years after, to read in Bourrienne's "Life" that Napoleon had taken "Werther" to Egypt. What an outbreak of personality we have here! Napoleon conquered Goethe for all the remaining years of his long life by sheer personal magnetism added to genuine cultivation of mind. He had, we see, a mentality fully able to cope with that of the greatest imaginative writer since Shakspere. No wonder that Goethe's best and latest biographer says: "Napoleon did not speak [to the poet] as a general and statesman, but as a literary critic, an historian, a philosopher. And with what sagacity, what discrimination, what originality!"†

V

THE scene changes to St. Helena. Napoleon is a captive, and although there are those who desire to minimise the fact, under peculiarly offensive conditions. The visitor to St. Helena to-day does not see the island under the same disagreeable conditions that Napoleon saw it. There has been a great planting of trees, and this has improved the climate, so much so that one distinguished correspondent who has recently been there assures me that it is now the ideal for a sanatorium. In any case, a fair examination of all the literature and all the documents demonstrates to me, as it has demonstrated to every impartial investigator, that Sir Hudson

* We then talked of Napoleon, and I lamented that I had never seen him. "Truly," said Goethe, "that also was worth the trouble. What a compendium of the world!" "Did he look like something?" asked I. "He *was* something," replied Goethe, "and he looked what he was—that was all."—Goethe's "Conversations with Eckermann," Feb. 16, 1826.

† "The Life of Goethe," by Albert Belschowsky, Vol. II.

Lowe was quite the wrong man for the Governorship of St. Helena if any real chivalry to the captive had been contemplated—but there was none. Forsyth, Seaton, and others have attempted to vindicate Lowe. But the public verdict of the past eighty years has gone against the Governor, and this verdict will now never be reversed. We arrive at this verdict quite independently of the very considerable mass of literature that came into being during the years of the captivity and for a decade after the Emperor's death. It is a verdict that culminated in Lord Rosebery's interesting and convincing summing-up of the question in his "Last Phase."

From the first we are attracted by Napoleon's eagerness for books. The Provisional Government of 1815 authorised him to select a number of books from the Rambouillet Library on his journey from Malmaison to Rochefort. The dethroned Emperor selected some 400 volumes, chiefly tragedies and novels. Then came the impulse to write his own Memoirs, which seems to have arisen the moment he heard that he was destined for St. Helena, as instance this conversation with Las Cases:—

"'What can we do in that desolate place?' said the Emperor. 'Sire,' I replied, 'we will live on the past: there is enough of it to satisfy us. Do we not enjoy the life of Cæsar and that of Alexander? We shall possess still more: you will reperuse yourself, sire!' 'Be it so!' rejoined Napoleon; 'we will write our memoirs. Yes; we must be employed, for occupation is the scythe of time. After all, a man ought to fulfil his destinies; this is my grand doctrine. Let mine also be accomplished.'"

When the *Northumberland* stopped at Madeira, Napoleon took the opportunity of sending to the English Government a list of books that he desired might be sent to him at his own expense, particularly the *Moniteur* from 1793 to 1807. Before these arrived

Napoleon had only a set of the *Annual Register* and a few odd volumes. In 1817 Lord and Lady Holland sent a parcel of books, and they continued to do so again and again as opportunity offered. Until 1818 Napoleon was badly supplied with the books that he wanted; from that date until his death his library grew apace, and M. Gonnard, who dissects the formation of Napoleon's library in great detail, shows us that the necessary documents for his work were only in full strength at the date of his death. He had the privilege, in any case, of reading much about himself, both genuine and apocryphal. He read Warden's book, and hence the letters here published. He read the "Manuscrit Venu de Sainte-Hélène" (1817) and even "Maximes et Pensées du Prisonnier de Sainte-Hélène"—also a spurious book which appeared so late as 1820, and was sent to him, curiously enough, by Lord Bathurst.

I like this picture in Las Cases's "Memorial," under date June 22nd, 1816:—

"To-day the weather was very bad. The Emperor sent for me about three o'clock. He was in the topographical cabinet, surrounded by all the individuals of his suite, who were engaged in unpacking some boxes of books that had arrived by the *Newcastle*. The Emperor himself helped to unpack, and seemed to be highly amused with the occupation. . . . On seeing the file of *Moniteurs*, which had been so long expected, he expressed unfeigned delight. He took it up and began eagerly to peruse it. After dinner the Emperor looked over Parke and Hornemann's 'Travels in Africa,' and he traced their course on my Atlas. In these narratives Hornemann, and the African Society of London, bore ample testimony to the generous assistance they had received from the General-in-Chief of the army of Egypt (Napoleon), who had seized every opportunity of promoting their discoveries. The polite and handsome manner in which these facts were mentioned was very gratifying to the Emperor, who had been long accustomed to find his name connected with insulting epithets.

"*June 23rd*, 1816.—I attended the Emperor about three o'clock. He had been so delighted at the receipt of his new books, that he had

passed the whole night in reading and dictating notes to Marchand. . . . During dinner the Emperor alluded to his immense reading in his youth, and he found from all the books he had perused relative to Egypt that he had scarcely anything to correct in what he had dictated on Egypt."

And, indeed, one of the last conversations that Las Cases had with Napoleon was upon literature:—

"The Emperor read Marmontel's Tales . . . he entered into a long and most interesting review of Rousseau, of his talents, his influence, his eccentricities. . . ."

Napoleon was always sighing for books in order to pursue the work by which he was to rival Cæsar in literature as well as in war. Those around him took this ambition sufficiently seriously.* But we to-day may admit that this was not to be, in spite of the high praise of Sainte-Beuve and others. Napoleon's own account of his achievements has not become a popular book. The "Memoirs" have been superseded by the "Memorials"—that is to say, that the memoirs which he dictated have been found less interesting by the public of every country than the memorials in which his disciples, his friends, his enemies have told all they knew about him and his achievement. In good truth,

* *Cf.* Las Cases's "Memorial," December 14th, 1815:—"When we returned from an evening walk, the Emperor read to me a chapter on the 'Provisional Consuls,' which he had dictated to M. de Montholon. Having finished reading, the Emperor took a piece of ribbon and began to tie together the loose sheets of paper. It was late; the silence of night prevailed around us. My reflections at this moment took a melancholy turn. I gazed on the Emperor. I looked on those hands which had wielded so many sceptres, and which were now tranquilly, and perhaps not without some degree of pleasure, occupied in the humble task of tying together a few sheets of paper. On these sheets, indeed, were traced events that will never be forgotten; portraits that will decide the judgment of posterity. It is the book of life or death to many whose names are recorded in it. These were the reflections that passed through my mind. 'And the Emperor,' thought I, 'reads to me what he writes; he familiarly asks my opinion, and I freely give it! After all, am I not rather to be envied than pitied in my exile at Saint Helena?'"



NAPOLEON DICTATING HIS MEMOIRS TO LAS CASES.

From the Painting by Sir W. Q. Orchardson, R.A., in the possession of the Trustees of the late J. M. Keiller, Esq.

the documents are so numerous, and so increase with the years, that it is natural enough that the writer who can best retell the story should have the ear of the public, and it will of necessity be retold every few years. In our day this has been done in England by Professor Seeley and Dr. Holland Rose; in the United States by Messrs. Sloane, Johnson, and Watson. Nearer to Napoleon's day it was told for Englishmen by Scott, Lockhart, and Hazlitt. It will never be finally told as a whole; but, after all, it is best found, in fragments, in the books of Madame Junot and Madame de Rémusat, of Bourrienne and Meneval, and a hundred others. But Napoleon's story will best live for us, not in the narrative that he told in grim seriousness, in emulation of Cæsar and Xenophon, but in the desultory records that come to us in the various chroniclers at St. Helena: Gourgaud, Las Cases, Montholon, and O'Meara in particular. There are a hundred fragments in these writers' works that are clearly Napoleon's own, dictated by him and as much his original work as those that bear his name. Take, for example, his account to Gourgaud of the March to Paris after Elba. It is a genuine masterpiece. No other historian has surpassed its dramatic intensity.

But the real interest of the St. Helena literature may be found in its supposed tact and diplomacy. It was his message to Europe, and it has grown to be counted a "legend" by virtue of the assumption that much that Napoleon and his followers stated was other than the fact. Napoleon wanted to be called back to the Western World, and he never really gave up hope that this might happen. The aspiration is to be found in his last letters, as well as in his early conversations with his friends on the *Northumberland*. It is all summed up in his remark to Gourgaud:—

"When Louis XVIII. dies, great events may take place; and if Lord Holland should then be Prime Minister of England they may bring me back to Europe. But what I most hope for is the death of the Prince Regent, which will place the young Princess Charlotte on the English throne. She will bring me back to Europe." *

The literary side of Napoleon is at its best when we see him working towards this return, attempting a vindication here and there, through the pen of this follower and that, of his every deed. Hence the laboured defence of his actions in Egypt and Syria, as against the charges in Sir Robert Wilson's book, that we find in the "Letters from the Cape." Napoleon is never more attractive than as we see him in this remote island Court at Longwood, firing into Europe at every turn a succession of pamphlets, all attempting to show that he had always been a Man of Peace, always the Friend of Liberty—never responsible for a single act of serious cruelty or tyranny. The verdict has gone with him on three great counts that were ever being put forward—the two Egyptian episodes, that he deals with in the "Letters from the Cape," and concerning the death of Captain Wright. It has gone against him over the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, although,

* And there is his forcible statement of his ideals to Las Cases:—"The Emperor . . . adverted to the different chances which might bring about his liberation from St. Helena, and he made the following remarkable observations: 'If the Sovereigns of Europe act wisely, and should succeed in completely restoring order, we shall not be worth the money and the trouble which it must cost to keep us here, and they will get rid of us. But our captivity may still be prolonged for some years—perhaps three, four, or five. Otherwise, setting aside the fortuitous events which are beyond the reach of human foresight, I calculate only on two uncertain chances of our liberation: first, that the Sovereigns may stand in need of me to assist in putting down rebellion among their subjects; and secondly, the people of Europe may require my aid in the contest that may arise between them and their monarchs. . . . Finally, there is a last chance, which perhaps is the most probable of all: I may be wanted to check the power of the Russians; for in less than ten years all Europe may perhaps be overrun with Cossacks, or subject to republican government.'—*April 18th*, 1816."

as another Bourbon, the Duc d'Artois, clearly aimed at Napoleon's assassination, Napoleon was never, to his dying day, able to understand the universality of condemnation. But I am not concerned here with the disputes of historical students as to Napoleon's ethics. I am only concerned with his place as a man of letters, and indisputably he was the maker of excellent literature as well as of great journalism. One essay by Sainte-Beuve and two essays by a living Frenchman* are all that record Napoleon's achievement as a lover of books and as an author apart from his other interests for the world. Mr. George Saintsbury, in his "Short History of French Literature" (1882), passes him by. Professor Dowden also ("French Literature," 1897) dismisses the author of 26,000 letters and a hundred volumes in a single line, and then only as "the last of the great revolutionary orators." It is time that this were changed in English text-books, and that more ample recognition were made of Napoleon's place in literature. "What a romance my life has been," he said to Las Cases; and while the most impressive side of the romance must necessarily be those startling years from 1799 to 1813, when he swept all before him through Europe, something may be conceded to the maker of a hundred volumes of his own and some forty thousand volumes that he inspired others to write. Not all these writers have seen Napoleon with the eyes of Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, but it is with his impression that we are most pleased to part with one whom Carlyle called Europe's "last Great Man":—

"Only those who knew Napoleon in the intercourse of private life can render justice to his character. For my own part, I know him,

* I have already referred to M. Tancrède Martel's two books. His earlier selection from Napoleon's writings, in four volumes, dated 1888, is quite out of print. His newer book, "Mémoires et Œuvres de Napoléon," in one volume, has an Introduction entitled "Napoléon Ecrivain."

as it were, by heart; and in proportion as time separates us, he appears to me like a beautiful dream. And would you believe that, in my recollections of Napoleon, that which seems to me to approach most nearly to ideal excellence is not the hero, filling the world with his gigantic fame, but the man, viewed in the relations of private life?"

II

LETTERS FROM THE CAPE

TO

LADY CLAVERING

PREFATORY

IT must be admitted that the "Letters from the Cape," as here presented, are not the happiest example of Napoleon's literary gifts, but this is certainly largely due to the imperfections of the translator, and is partly in consequence of Napoleon's anxiety to be here rather an effective journalist than a man of letters. The correspondence was written in French to Lady Clavering, translated by someone unknown, and published in England in 1817. The work, although attributed to O'Meara and to Las Cases respectively* was undoubtedly by Napoleon. The fact is vouched for by three companions of the exile—by Bertrand, Montholm and Marchand. One of Bertrand's sons, General Henry Bertrand, satisfied the Commission appointed by Napoleon III. to edit and publish the "Correspondance de Napoléon Premier," that he had seen a first draft of the book. This Commission, however, was unable to obtain possession of the original manuscript, and was compelled to make its translation from the third edition of James Ridgway's publication as it is presented here. With certain omissions the "Letters from the Cape" appear, therefore, in the thirty-first volume of "Napoleon's Correspondence" (pp. 295–364), under the title of "Lettres du Cap de Bonne Espérance."

The letters were written to Lady Clavering, concerning whom all too little information is available. In

* To the former, by Col. W. W. Knollys, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and to the latter by the "Quarterly Review," by Theodore Hook and by all contemporary gossips.

Henry Swinburne's "Courts of Europe at the Close of the Last Century," there is a reference to the lady and her union with Thomas Clavering, a son of Sir George Clavering, a friend of Henry Swinburne's. Here is the extract :—

"Tom Clavering has run away with and married a girl of Angers, Mademoiselle Galais. He was placed there to learn French, and she is daughter to the person who lets the lodgings. He is positively bent on fulfilling his engagement.

"Apropos of this, old George Clavering's hobby-horse is *roads ;* and if they are mentioned, all other ideas vanish in an instant. I was engaged in very serious conversation with his wife on the subject of this unlucky marriage of his son's. She was in tears, and very anxious to persuade me to tell what answer I had from France about the lady. George came up to us, and Mrs. C. begged him to join his entreaties to hers. I declined it, saying, things were too far gone, and I could not think of reporting what was possibly not true, and which might prejudice them against her. 'I might just as well,' said I, 'take a pistol, and attack her on the high road.'

"'Road, sir?' said George, 'I can now tell you who is bound to repair the road at Shielrow' : and away he went helter-skelter after his road, without our being able to stop him, or bring him back to the original subject."

The editor of Swinburne's volume has added the following footnote :—

"A curious anecdote is related at Angers, relative to this event. It appears that the young person of whom Mr. Clavering was enamoured, and had agreed to elope with, and who was the daughter of a wax-chandler, changed her mind, or at all events had not courage to leave her parents' abode at the hour specified. She had, however, a confidante in her cousin, to whom she communicated her embarrassment. This young lady, who it appears was secretly in love with Mr. Clavering, and who was not tormented with the same scruples, instantly made up her mind to supply her friend's place. She therefore muffled herself up, and, favoured by the darkness, safely joined the expecting and impatient lover, who instantly placed her in his carriage, drove off, and did not discover his error until the following day. It is said that the beauty and grace of the confidante quickly consoled him for his disappointment, and that he further expressed himself per-

fectly satisfied with his conquest. Such is the story; I do not vouch for its veracity."

Whether Clare Clavering was the daughter of a wax-chandler or the daughter of a lodging-house keeper, as is here stated, or whether she was really of a good French family, the daughter of Jean de Gallais de la Bernardine, Comte de la Sablé of Anjou, it seems impossible to ascertain. I can find no reference to Claire in any French genealogical tree. In any case, Clavering was married in 1791, and one son and two daughters were issue of the marriage. First, William Aloysius, born 21st January, 1800; second, Clara Anna Martha, married 8th February, 1826, to General Baron de Kuyff of Brussels, and third, Agatha Catherine, married 12th February, 1821, to Baron de Montfaucon of Avignon. The son, William Aloysius, succeeded as ninth Baronet, in 1853, and died in 1872 without issue, when his cousin, Sir Henry Augustus Clavering, succeeded as tenth Baronet, and, not leaving a son, the title became extinct. From the Clavering side of the family little that is interesting about Lady Clavering is obtainable. Colonel Napier Clavering tells me that there is a sort of tradition in the family of a "wicked Lady Clavering" who managed to have her husband detained as a prisoner in France while she amused herself here in England. Miss Augusta Clavering, a daughter of the tenth and last Baronet, and therefore no relation whatever to the Lady Clavering of these Letters, declares that the less that is known about Sir Thomas Clavering's French wife, the better. From Miss Clavering I obtain a vision of dire domestic trouble that came to Sir Thomas Clavering through his French wife. Their son, Sir William Clavering, who left no children, evidently made himself cordially hated by the collateral branch, the family of Sir Henry Clavering with whom the baronetcy became extinct. So much

for this side of the family's story. One is not more fortunate with the other side, for I have not been able to get into communication with the Baron du Quesnoy, the grandson of Lady Clavering in the direct line, although this gentleman has inherited some of the Clavering property in the County of Durham. The impartial student of to-day, therefore, is quite unable to come to any decision with regard to Lady Clavering from family sources. It is probable, however, that the feeling she excited in England was due largely to the absolute incompatibility that existed in those years—the years of our great struggle with France—between the English and the French nations. I am inclined to think that she was probably a very good woman, but found her position in a foreign land anything but a happy one under the circumstances of the Great War. We can imagine the constant reviling of her countrymen, for example, by the dull and unimaginative people of a North of England village during the Napoleonic struggle. All the suggestions of a "wicked Lady Clavering" are probably quite unwarranted. There is very little evidence one way or the other, but I arrive at my conclusion mainly by virtue of the fact that during his years of exile, before he became reconciled to the Napoleon *régime*, Count Las Cases was tutor to Lady Clavering's children. Certainly, she was a good friend to him, and that that friendship was entirely platonic is shown by letters that I have read. The high character of Las Cases is beyond question. He was one of the unfortunate emigrants who resided in England during the years of the Revolution. He went through the Campaign of 1793 with the Duke of Brunswick's army, marching in the ranks of the Marine Corps, and he was in the retreat which, as he says himself, "made the grave of the last army of the French Feudal System."

It is thus that he tells the story of his exile in England:—

"Las Cases, and with him a great part of his companions in misfortune, threw themselves into an English coal ship; here they were treated exactly like a cargo of negroes, and landed on the banks of the Thames, at a considerable distance from London, which they had to reach on foot as well as they could. A new world, a new existence here offered itself to the Count in all its horrors—the condition of misfortune struggling with want. There was now no longer any question about coats of arms, family rank and high descent; all these advantages had disappeared in a moment; bent down, thrown amongst the great mass of the people, they had now either to share with the latter their toil and their exertions, or to perish. Cast out on a foreign soil, among a people whose language was unknown to him, without acquaintances, destitute of all support, without money; cut off from all connections with friends, if he did not wish to render them miserable; this was the dreadful situation of the Count.*

In England he had, indeed, the roughest of times. "I gave lessons," he said, "at such distances that my shoe-leather cost me double the shilling that I received for the lesson." During the hard winter of 1794 he tells us, further, he remained in bed nearly all day long, in order to keep warm, covering his feet with his empty trunk, the contents of which he had sold.† Then came happier days. He met Lady Clavering,‡ whose

* The "Memoirs of Count de Las Cases," communicated by himself. London: Printed for Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, 1818.

† "The Exile of St. Helena," by Philippe Gonnard. M. Gonnard quotes from unpublished documents.

‡ Here is the Clavering story from "Extinct Peerages":—

Sir Thomas John Clavering, eighth bart., of Axwell and of Greencroft, Durham; born 1771; married Clare, Aug. 21, 1794; succeeded to baronetcy, 1794; raised a troop of yeomanry, 1796; High Sheriff of Northumberland, 1817; died 1853.

Clare, daughter of John de Gallais de la Bernardine, Comte de la Sablé of Anjou; Lady Clavering died Sep. 1, 1854.

Sir William Aloysius Clavering, 4th son; 1800–1872; unmarried; succeeded by his cousin, Henry Augustus Clavering; died without male issue, 1893; baronetcy extinct.

Clara, mar. in 1826 Gen. Baron de Kuyff, of Brussels.

Agatha, mar. 1821 Baron de Montfaucon, of Avignon.

heart went out quite naturally to a fellow exile from her beloved France. She assisted him in many ways, and, among others, helped him to publish his "Geographical and Historical Atlas." This brought him money and some repute. A little later, in 1802, Las Cases accompanied Lady Clavering to France as tutor to her children. The circumstances through which Las Cases fell under the glamour of the great conqueror do not concern us here. It is clear that the friendship between the companion of the Emperor's exile and the kindly Frenchwoman was never broken. We next hear of her in November, 1816, when Las Cases is at St. Helena with the Emperor, and the relations between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe are becoming very strained indeed. Count Las Cases had not been wasting time between August, 1815—when Napoleon went on board the *Northumberland*—and November of the following year, but had compiled the whole of the eight volumes, which we now read with so much interest under the title of "Memorial of St. Helena."

The crisis came on the morning of the 25th November, 1816, when Sir Hudson Lowe was informed that a man of the name of John Scott was waiting for him, and desired to speak to him on an important matter. I quote the story as told by Lowe's apologist, Forsyth. John Scott came to tell the Governor that his son, who was a servant of Count Las Cases, was being made use of to send messages to Europe. Ostensibly, the papers he carried were merely recommendations of himself as a servant, signed by Las Cases and addressed to Lady Clavering at her house in Portland Place. To this lady, Scott was to present the note. But in reality he had with him two letters—one destined for Lady Clavering, the other for Lucien Bonaparte, with a request to the former to forward the letter to Prince Lucien at Rome. The servant—James Scott—

was arrested. The letters were seized, and that was the beginning of the end, so far as Las Cases's life in St. Helena was concerned.

Las Cases was sent from St. Helena to the Cape, and later on he wrote the book from which we have already quoted, and here he published Prince Lucien's letter which had been returned to him. Happily, the letter to Lady Clavering is given among the documents in Forsyth's ponderous, but too much decried work. It is dated 10th November, 1816, and written in French. It faces the position in a note of lamentation indeed: "*Nos maux, nos peines, nos tristesses, surpassent tout ce que l'imagination put créer,*" the author cries. He asks for news of his wife, which shows that she was being befriended by Lady Clavering during his exile. He bursts into raptures upon the goodness of that wife, and also sends messages of devotion to his mother. With the exception of the request to send "the enclosed letter" to Prince Lucien—who, Las Cases is sure, would be glad to make the acquaintance of Lady Clavering—the letter is most innocent; a document such as might have been written from any one friend to any other friend. There is no treason in it against England, and meanwhile it is quite clear that Lady Clavering is living an ordinary society woman's life at her house, 19, Portland Place, and that she is on visiting terms with Holland House. The document serves a purpose for which it was never intended: it really provides an admirable testimonial to the character of Lady Clavering who, although a Frenchwoman, would merely seem to have done what a small body of honest English Whigs—including Lord Gray, Lord Holland, Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Wilson—were doing at the same time; that is to say, that she, in common with these commiserated Napoleon in his captivity, and would have been glad to have done anything to alleviate the rigour of his lot.

Of Lady Clavering, alas! we hear no more, although she lived for another forty years, dying the year after her husband—in 1854. She was destined to see the succession of revolutions which put Louis Philippe and then Napoleon the Third on the throne of France, and may have been not a little cheered by the ultimate triumph of the policy in which she had taken a small part—the literary policy by which Napoleon I. made his nephew Napoleon III. possible. That there was a deliberate policy on the part of Napoleon to make France welcome back his family to the throne, I take to be indisputable. The point has been laboured with great ability by M. Philippe Gonnard in a recent book, "The Exile of St. Helena."* It may be accepted as a fact that Napoleon planned the diffusion of the very considerable literature that told of his exile, and emphasised the martyrdom; the exiled Emperor proclaimed the apparent paradox that a Napoleonic Empire meant liberty for all, and that it also meant peace for the world. On this subject, let us hear M. Gonnard:—

"The words that came from St. Helena have each one at its appointed time influenced the fate of France during the past half-

* M. Gonnard's book is one which I find it impossible to praise too highly. The work was translated a few months back by Miss Alys Hallard for the firm of Heinemann. M. Gonnard has written the most thorough book upon the St. Helena episode that has yet appeared, and it is in every sense a remarkable book for so young a man. M. Gonnard was born at Lyons so late as 1878; he is now Professor of History at the Lycée of Lyons. His book, which appeared in England under the title of "The Exile of St. Helena," has for its French title "Les Origines de la légende napoléonienne—L'œuvre historique de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène." This was M. Gonnard's thesis for his doctor's degree in 1907. M. Gonnard contemplates further researches into the Napoleonic legend and in the various aspects of this most interesting subject, and has already written articles treating of the way it affected Roman Catholic opinion in France from 1840 to 1870. He still continues to contribute to the *Revue Bleue* and various other French publications, on this subject. His one other work is entitled: "Lettres du comte et de la comtesse de Montholon" (1819-1821), published in Paris, 1907.

century. Napoleon, on his lonely rock, had not lost the art of managing men. His work was meted out exactly to suit the French mind, the requirements of the time, the intelligence and sentiments of the people. Not caring at all what means he employed, he used every opportunity of appealing to his century, sure that every word he uttered would be repeated by one mouth or another. And, surely enough, these words have been repeated. . . . Historians and poets, Thiers, Norvins, Béranger and Victor Hugo, struck up the triumphal chant while he, the choir-master, beat time for all these singers of his praises, and gave the key-note to all these orators of his glory. The conclusion to which one comes after such a study as this is that the man of St. Helena equalled the man of Austerlitz. He realised there the political mistakes he had made and, as far as it was in his power, he endeavoured to make up for them. The lesson he had learned from certain events was not lost upon him, and he endeavoured to transform the enemies who had overthrown him into the champions of his son."*

One may accept this theory of a carefully thought-out policy without modifying in the least the opinion that Hudson Lowe and Lord Bathurst were contemptible pedants. In fact, the theory serves to emphasise the utter folly of the policy of Lord Liverpool's government. Had the Whigs returned to power, say in 1819 or 1820, they would hardly have dared to recall Bonaparte from St. Helena, but one sees a thousand ways in which they could have made his position more tolerable. Indeed, they could have cut away more than half his grievances at one stroke of the pen.

In any case, the assumption of a deliberate policy to influence the sympathies of Europe, and particularly of France, makes the documents that were published during the six years of exile the more interesting. Here in the "Letters from the Cape," we have the first of such documents, and it is the only one of any importance published during Napoleon's lifetime. I cannot for a moment accept the suggestion of M. Gonnard

* "The Exile of St. Helena." By Philippe Gonnard.

that a little pamphlet now before me, "Letters from the Island of St. Helena exposing the Unnecessary Severity exercised towards Napoleon," was the Emperor's handiwork, but Napoleon doubtless inspired this as also the well-known "Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech."

Napoleon's second effort in the same direction was his Will, which was published in Paris in 1822, and had an enormous sale. Then came O'Meara's "Napoleon in Exile" in the same year; then Las Cases's "Memorial" in 1823; Montholon's "History of the Captivity" in 1846, and Bertrand's "Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie," issued by his sons in 1847, with certain Reminiscences, which belie Lord Rosebery's suggestion that of the four companions of the exile, Las Cases, Montholon, Gourgaud and Bertrand, the last was silent. Gourgaud's "Sainte-Hélène, Journal inédit" was not published until 1899, and has, therefore, no bearing upon the question in its practical aspects, although it is clear that Napoleon said many things to Gourgaud as to the others that he desired to go forth promptly to the world.

As to the pamphlet before us—"Letters from the Cape"—it is, we see, one of a sequence that can best be set forth in chronological form :—

1. "Letters written on board H.M.S. *The Northumberland*, and at St. Helena." 1816.
2. "Letters from the Cape." 1817.
3. "Letters from the Island of St. Helena exposing the Unnecessary Severity exercised towards Napoleon." 1818.
4. "Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech in the House of Peers, March 18, 1817." 1818.
5. "Facts Illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena." By Theodore Hook. 1819.
6. "An Exposition of some of the transactions that have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor of that Island." By B. E. O'Meara. 1819.

Nearly all the really significant literature appeared after Napoleon's death in 1821, when O'Meara and Las Cases, in particular, created an excitement that has rarely, if ever, had a parallel. The "Memorial" appeared in eight volumes both in France and in England in 1823. It was naturally more popular in the former country. But Barry O'Meara's "Voice from St. Helena," issued in London in two volumes in 1822 and published in Paris the same year, under the title of "Napoléon en exil, ou l'Echo de Sainte-Hélène," was greeted with a demand that was truly wonderful. Old booksellers have recalled to us the blocked streets of waiting would-be purchasers. Not even the most sought-after volume by Byron or Scott created so great a fever of curiosity. It was as if Napoleon being dead there had arisen in England a great reaction of interest and of sympathy. It can scarcely be doubted but that the triumph of reform and of liberal principles that swept the country ten years later owed not a little to the ill-treatment of Napoleon and the sympathy that O'Meara's brilliant story had engendered. The beneficent influence of Napoleon upon the struggle for liberty in England is a phase of the question that has not yet been treated with any adequacy.

That there is much more of Napoleon's individuality in O'Meara and Las Cases than there is of the actual writers of the books may be agreed, but, nevertheless, we turn with even greater interest to the books that the Emperor inspired and wrote during his own life. Warden interests us because Napoleon read his volume and because he commented upon it. That is why Warden's narrative and the "Letters from the Cape" form one the complement of the other, and require to be read together. The "Letters from the Cape in reply to Mr. Warden" was a thin book of some two hundred pages. It was published by James Ridgway, of Picca-

dilly, and went through at least three editions, but it had none of the popularity of Warden's narrative, partly because the authorship was not known, and partly because while Warden's book continued to sell after the Emperor's death, these "Letters from the Cape" were practically superseded by Las Cases and O'Meara. The book was published first in Paris in 1819 under the title "Documents particuliers," "being letters on Napoleon Bonaparte, according to information supplied by Napoleon himself and by persons who have known him well," and it appeared so late as 1901, under the title of "Napoléon jugé par un Anglais," edited by Dr. Cabanes.

Are we then to accept the theory that Napoleon was only "shamming" when he talked about Liberty and Peace in his days of exile. He could have pleaded, at any rate, had he lived but a few more years, that it was thus that his work had been interpreted through the world, that the liberators of Italy came to acknowledge that if he had not destroyed they would not have been able to build. Von Müller, the historian of Switzerland, saw in him the indirect maker of that country as we have it to-day. Heine has incorporated all the sentiment that surrounds his name in imperishable verse. "In his reconstruction of France," writes one of the ablest of modern students of the subject, "Napoleon built upon the permanent elements of true national psychology. He gave France what she wanted, and his work has outlasted three Revolutions."*

Finally, let us recall a letter from Napoleon to his brother Jerome, King of Westphalia:—

Be a constitutional king. It is necessary that your subjects should enjoy a degree of liberty, equality and well-being unknown

* "Bonapartism," by H. A. L. Fisher. 1908.

to the people of Germany. This will be a more powerful barrier against Prussia than the Elbe, or fortresses, or French protection. What people would wish to revert to Prussian despotism when it has once tasted the benefits of a wise and liberal government?

LETTERS

FROM THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

IN REPLY TO

MR. WARDEN

WITH

Extracts from the Great Work now compiling for Publication under the Inspection of

NAPOLEON

LONDON.
Printed for JAMES RIDGWAY, Piccadilly.
1817.

TO THE BOOKSELLER

IMPORTANT as every authentic information regarding the memorable events of the last twenty years must be, not only as supplying materials for history, but also as affording gratification in the passing hour, it becomes a matter of deep regret that writers who pretend to instruct mankind by their statements, should, on the contrary, generate error; and that authority should lend itself to the extension of misrepresentations and prejudices.

Feelings of this painful nature have been excited elsewhere, as well as in England, not only by the perusal of Mr. Warden's publication,* which, coming from a person whose recent situation, and the opportunities enjoyed, were not ill calculated to deceive the most wary, but also by the laboured and artful representations of *pretended present indulgences* from a higher quarter, *one*, where we should have hoped no guile could be found.

In order, however, to prevent the growth of error in both cases, certain portions, as far as is necessary for that purpose, of the "Historical Memoirs of

* William Warden—whose "Letters Written on Board H.M.S. *Northumberland*" were reprinted in 1908 in my "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers"—first issued his book in 1816 after the return of his ship from St. Helena. Warden pleased neither side. He was thought in England to be far too favourable to Napoleon, and although the book went through sixteen editions in two years, it was not until Napoleon's death that any substantial reaction in favour of the Emperor set in in England among the reading classes. That reaction culminated in the enthusiastic reception of O'Meara's "Voice from St. Helena," first published in 1822.

Napoleon,"* have been selected from the great work in preparation, and have been thrown together in a series of Letters, as an antidote to assertions of ignorance and artifice; and are such as, in point of interest and matter, cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of the Public. In this view I submit them to you for the press. I lament that a necessity should have existed for any partial publication of this sort; the more so, as additional impediments may in consequence be raised to the progress of the History alluded to in the title; and, if possible, a still more rigorous and vexatious system of confinement be put in execution towards its illustrious object; but

* The memoirs were first published in French in London in 1823 in seven volumes. They appeared in Paris under the title of :—

"Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à Sainte-Hélène sous la dictée de l'Empereur, dicté au Comte de Montholon et Général Gourgaud." 8 volumes. 1822–1825.

A second edition appeared in Paris in 1830, in nine volumes, and the work has often been reproduced. The English version, in seven volumes, has the following title-pages :—

"Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon, dictated by the Emperor at Saint Helena to the Generals who shared his captivity and published from the original manuscripts, corrected by himself. Vols. I. and II., dictated to General Gourgaud (Colburn, 1823). Vols. III. (Colburn, 1823) and IV. (Colburn, 1824), dictated to the Count de Montholon."

"Historical Miscellanies. Vol. I., Vol. II., Vol. III., dictated to the Count de Montholon. Colburn, 1823."

These seven volumes, three of them bearing the sub-title of "Historical Miscellanies," were anticipated by :—

"Historical Memoirs of Napoleon. Book IX., 1815. Translated from the Original Manuscript by B. E. O'Meara. With an Appendix of Proofs that the Pretended Manuscript from St. Helena was not written by Napoleon. London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., Bridge Street. 1820."

They were succeeded by :—

"Précis des Guerres de César," by Napoleon, published by Comte Marchand. Paris. 2 vols. 1836."

and

"Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie," published by General Bertrand. Paris. 2 vols. 1847."

truth and justice require it. The Public will naturally be anxious to know the source whence this account is derived; but, as the matter will distinctly show that it can only proceed from the fountain-head, the importance of the intermediate agency is lessened; and, besides, were it avowed, an aggravated visitation of cruel and needless tyranny would probably be the consequence.

Yours, &c.

C———.

Cape of Good Hope.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

21st. of April 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

In my retreat, I have received a small volume of Letters written by Mr. Warden, the Surgeon of His Britannic Majesty's ship the *Northumberland:* you inform me that this work has already passed through several editions, and that, for a series of years, no other publication has so much excited the curiosity of the public. You desire to know my opinion as to the authenticity and truth of its details. I have read it with interest. I was well acquainted with Mr. Warden, both on board of the *Northumberland* and at St. Helena, and esteemed him a man of talent; he was particularly noticed for the ardent curiosity which he displayed for everything concerning Napoleon; but not understanding either French or Italian, the only modern languages spoken by the great man in question, he consequently had no other opportunity of learning what he relates, than either by means of the interpretation of Count de Las Cases, who, having lived some years in England, understands our language, although he speaks it very incorrectly, and with considerable hesitation; or of General Bertrand, who possesses the facility of speaking it in a lesser degree than even the other. Amongst all the French embarked, Madame Bertrand is the only one who speaks English with facility, and with an accurate pronunciation. This simple observation would of itself be sufficient to enable you to form a correct judgment as to the exactness of Mr. Warden's relations.

It would be unnecessary for me to add any more; but you wish to have some details: you ask me a number of questions, and answer I must. Certainly, I cannot plead want of time as an excuse for not complying with your request, as I have been, for some months past, at the Cape upon business, which is likely to detain me still longer—and the oppressive heat of the season, together with the clouds of dust, oblige me to remain in doors the greater part of the day; and my attention, instead of being occupied by the late interview between Guiaka, the graceful Caffre chief, and Lord Charles Somerset,* will be sufficiently employed in furnishing you with the particulars you require. As Mr. Warden's work is divided into eight Letters, I will adopt the same plan each of mine will contain such observations as the perusal of the corresponding one of his relation may suggest to me; to which I will add, also, some new anecdotes, in order, as far as lies in my power, to gratify your curiosity.

It is not unknown to you, that a long residence in France has rendered the language of that country familiar to me, and enabled me both to understand it well, and speak it fluently. I have also had frequent opportunities of cursorily running over manuscripts of the greatest interest relative to the memorable events of the last twenty years, a part of which was even written from the dictation of NAPOLEON himself, by the officers of his suite.

During the passage in the *Northumberland* I had the honour, once or twice a week, of holding a con-

* General Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767–1831), the second son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort. He was Governor of the Cape of Good Hope from November, 1813, until March, 1828, and held Las Cases as prisoner when, in 1816, the latter was sent from St. Helena to the Cape by Sir Hudson Lowe. In his "Letter addressed from Frankfort-on-the-Maine to Lord Bathurst" ("Memoirs of Count de Las Cases," Part III., 1818) the author complains bitterly of his treatment by Somerset.

versation of some minutes' duration with Napoleon; and a day never elapsed without my having had many with the officers of his suite. At St. Helena I frequently breakfasted with Madame Bertrand and twice I had an interview of more than a quarter of an hour each time with Napoleon himself. I was also particularly intimate with the Count de las Cases, whom I have often seen at the Briars, and in his own apartment at Longwood.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

LETTER I

Cape of Good Hope,
22nd of April 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

During a visit which I paid to Longwood in January 1816, I had an opportunity of perusing a manuscript, in which were related the principal events that occurred in France, from the time of Napoleon's disembarkation in the Gulf of St. Juan until his arrival on board of the *Northumberland*. I have some reason to believe, that this manuscript has been since printed, and consequently not unknown to you.* In it you will have seen described the motives and circumstances which decided him to abdicate, and proceed on board the *Bellerophon* at Rochefort, and how much he was gratified and pleased with the conduct both of Sir Henry Hotham and Captain Maitland towards him. You will also have seen described the mode of life which he adopted under such strange circumstances, both during the passage and the short time the ship stayed at Torbay

* This is the once famous :—

"Manuscript transmitted from St. Helena by an Unknown Channel. Translated from the French. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1817."

The book was published in both English and French in this year, and t was replied to in French with a pamphlet, "Le Manuscrit venu de Sainte-Hélène, apprécié à sa juste Valeur." Murray declared that he did not know whence it came. It was attributed—absurdly enough—to Madame de Staël and to Talleyrand. In Paris circles it was read with enthusiasm by the enemies of Louis XVIII., and all declared that it was by the Emperor. It reads to-day as in every way a very inferior document to these "Letters from the Cape." Its author was M. J. F. Lullin de Châteauvieux, a Swiss writer upon agriculture.

and Plymouth, where he was allowed to remain only twenty days. My remarks upon the decision which took place then, I shall reserve for some future opportunity. To the profound impression which that simple and artless narrative must have produced upon your mind, I can add nothing; it appears to me, however, that the author has forgotten to insert in it Napoleon's Letter to the Prince Regent; and although this letter has been already published, I have thought it proper to give it you here, as I had it from an officer who copied it from the original; it strongly manifests the confidence which Napoleon had in our laws, our constitution, and the grandeur of our national character.

"ALTESSE ROYALE,

"En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des principales puissances de l'Europe; j'ai terminé ma carriére politique, je viens comme Thémistocle m'asseoir sur le foyer Brittannique; je me mets sous la protection de ses lois que je réclame de votre Altesse Royale comme au plus puissant, au plus constant, et au plus généreux de mes ennemis.

"NAPOLÉON.

"Rochefort, 13 Juillet 1815."

After having gone through the ceremony of being disarmed, which to many appeared to be very unnecessary, and being declared a prisoner he arrived on board the *Northumberland* on the fourth of August 1815, where, for the first time, I saw him. The same afternoon, he had a conversation with Lord Lowther, and Mr. Lyttelton for about an hour, which has been extremely incorrectly related in the newspapers.* In the evening he spoke with considerable interest of Lord Lowther's manner, and of the sentiments which he

* Lyttelton's "Conversations," as taken down by himself were privately issued in 1836 in a small pamphlet, of which only fifty-two copies were printed. This pamphlet was reprinted in "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers," 1908, pages 65–108, published by the firm of Cassell, and edited by the writer of these notes.

had manifested; and made himself acquainted with his name and quality. Whilst on board of the *Northumberland*, Napoleon was not exactly addressed (in speaking to him) by the title of General, to which appellation he always declared he would not have answered; and Mr. Warden was too curious and too anxious to obtain some degree of intimacy with him, to allow himself to commit an action which he knew would offend him. Undoubtedly in the Government official dispatches he was always so styled; but otherwise it was avoided as much as possible.

"The validity," said General Montholon, "of the Emperor's right to have worn the Imperial purple, has been acknowledged by every power; and with respect to a party lately sprung up in Europe, denominated the *Legitimate Party*, the object of it is, in opposition to the Holy Scriptures, to the laws and practices of the church, to the maxims of religion, and to the events of past ages, to persuade nations, that they belonged by divine right, and to all eternity, to some dozen of families! When David," continued he, "dethroned the house of Saul, and succeeded him, was he legitimate? David, who declared, 'I esteem myself as king only by unction.'

"In France," he added, "several families have succeeded to the throne, and have formed different dynasties, either by the pleasure of the people, represented by the assemblies in the Champ de Mars, the Champ de Mai, or by parliaments composed of the bishops and barons, who at that time constituted the nation. In your own country," continued he, "how many different houses have followed each other! The house of Hanover, which succeeded the Stuarts, reigns now, because your grandfathers would have it so; and because it was necessary for the preservation of their interests and their religious and political opinions. Your

old men have seen the last branch of the Stuarts make a descent upon Scotland, where he was supported by those whose interests and opinions were conformable to those of the Stuarts; but he was repulsed and expelled by the great majority of the British nation, whose new interests and new opinions were in opposition to his and to those of his family.

"Napoleon" he added, "was chosen Emperor of the French—chosen by the people, as being the only person who could preserve the interests and opinions of France; consecrated not only by the different religious authorities, but also by the head of the Catholic religion, the Pope; acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, even by England, which last acknowledged him as First Consul and Head of the French Republic for life. Lord Whitworth* was furnished with credentials, and lived as ambassador at the court of the Tuileries, and Count Andréossy† in a similar capacity at that of St. James's. And afterwards, in 1806, Lord Lauderdale‡ was furnished

* Lord Whitworth. Charles, Earl Whitworth (1752–1825) was appointed the British Ambassador to France at the time of the Treaty of Amiens. His interview with Napoleon was a very uncomfortable one, as described by himself. Napoleon, before his whole Court reproached the Ambassador for what he considered Great Britain's little respect for the Treaty. This was March 13th, 1803. On April 4th of this year he had a fuller interview, and on May 12th he demanded his passports. On May 18th war was renewed between the two countries. Whitworth met the French Ambassador, Andréossy, at Dover on May 17th. Napoleon, according to Las Cases, called Whitworth a "*fort bel homme.*"

† Count Andréossy. Antoine François, Comte Andréossy (1761–1828), was with Napoleon in Egypt, and assisted at the *coup d'état* of 18 brumaire. He was sent to London as Ambassador after the Peace of Amiens. Louis XVIII. attempted to conciliate him in 1814, but he went over to Napoleon during the Hundred Days. In 1827 he was elected a deputy, but died the next year.

‡ Lord Lauderdale. James Maitland, eighth Earl of Lauderdale (1759–1839), was an advanced Radical in the years of the war with the French Republic. In 1806 he was created a peer of the United Kingdom, having previously been only a Scots peer. On August 7th of this year he went

with credentials as plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain to treat for peace with Napoleon, as Emperor: this act in itself, was an acknowledgment of him as Emperor. In 1814, Lord Castlereagh,* by signing, at Châtillon, the ultimatum, again acknowledged him, in common with all Europe, as Emperor of the French.

"In order," continued he, "to authorize your government to style him General, it was necessary that they should never have acknowledged him as head of the French republic for life; that Lords Lauderdale and Castlereagh should never have recognised him as Emperor of the French; and also, that the object of the war had been, to oblige them to such an acknowledgment, a circumstance which certainly was never even thought of, or at least never alleged, as being the object sought for, or as being the cause of the continuation of the war. You certainly are not authorized

to Paris with Francis Seymour, Earl of Yarmouth, with the object of negotiating a treaty of peace with France, but the negotiations came to nothing. Lauderdale is a remarkable instance of the fact that few men can remain in the House of Lords for long without becoming Tories.

* Lord Castlereagh. Robert Stewart, second Marquis of Londonderry (1769–1822), was one of the most prominent English statesmen of the Napoleonic era. His name is still justly hated in Ireland for the share he took in the fastening of chains upon that unhappy country. As a statesman concerned in our foreign and home policy, he led the spirit of reaction to such an extent that at his death—he committed suicide—he was carried to his grave amid the execrations of the populace. His share in the diplomacy that led to the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 was, however, wise and potent. At a Congress that assembled at Châtillon on February 3rd, 1814, although England had three representatives in Lords Cathcart and Aberdeen and Sir Charles Stewart, Castlereagh's was the most influential voice, and he insisted that the allies were not bound to bring back the Bourbons. He wished to base all negotiations upon the assumption that Napoleon was to remain Emperor of a more confined France, and he carried Russia and Prussia with him in this view. It was impossible, however, that Napoleon should have accepted a proposal that limited France to the area of pre-Revolution times, and Sir Archibald Alison ("Life of Castlereagh," Vol. ii., 349) admits the soundness of Napoleon's attitude while attempting to justify Castlereagh.

to acknowledge Joseph as King of Spain, because his nomination as such was always held up as being the cause of the war which actually existed in Spain, and which prevented the opening of negociations. For Napoleon to allow himself to be called General," added he, "would be tacitly admitting, that the French republic and that the fourth dynasty had never existed.* But even in the extraordinary position of things, recourse might have been had to a measure which was suggested, and which would have prevented all these troublesome controversies; for example, to have called him Napoleon, or to have given him some incognito name. But," continued he, "it is only adding outrage to outrage, towards an extraordinary man, who has encircled himself with so many crowns, and who has placed upon royal thrones the houses of Bavaria, of Saxony, and of Würtemberg.† Is it not to him," con-

* Colonel Gallwey, who has been Governor of St. Helena for the past seven years, thus conversed with a writer in the *Daily Mail*, in reference to Napoleonic traditions :—

"They are rapidly disappearing from St. Helena," the colonel explained. "There are still a few very old men who were babes at the time of Napoleon's death and who remember—very vaguely—their parents speaking about the famous prisoner. They always refer to him as General Buonaparte. The present generation knows next to nothing of Napoleon the Great, but much more about Dinizulu and General Cronje, who were prisoners on the island, the former in 1890 and the latter in 1900."

"Why should the islanders," I asked, "call Napoleon 'General Buonaparte' to-day?"

"He has been called so ever since the days of Sir Hudson Lowe. Of course, Lowe, like all Britishers, called him thus. Personally, I would have called Napoleon 'King of Kings' if he had asked me to . . . but Sir Hudson Lowe was Governor of St. Helena, and one must not criticise one's predecessors."

—"St. Helena of To-day: A Talk with the Governor of the Island."—*Daily Mail*, July 27th, 1910.

† The electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg became kings by the Treaty of Pressburg, December 26th, 1805, after the power of Austria had been broken at Austerlitz. Henceforth the two kingdoms were to be independent of Austria. Napoleon thus conferred a crown upon a

tinued he, "that your own house of Hanover is indebted, for the royal crown for which you exchanged your electoral cap?"*

On board the *Northumberland*, Napoleon's wants were so few, as to excite the surprise of the crew, who declared that he gave less trouble than a simple lieutenant would have done; indeed, as the French observed, he was *impassible*. He sometimes passed a great part of the night and morning in reading and writing, without stirring out of his apartment. He breakfasted there about ten o'clock; at about four in the afternoon, he generally went into the great cabin, and played at chess; at five the Admiral commonly made his appearance in the cabin, from whence they proceeded to another, to dinner. He appeared to have been in the habit of remaining a very short time at dinner, probably a quarter of an hour; in order, however, to conform a little to our customs, he generally sat for about half an hour; he then got up, and went upon the quarter-

daughter of George III. Saxony became a kingdom by the Treaty of Posen, December 11th, 1816, this being Napoleon's reward to the Elector Frederick Augustus for his alliance at the battle of Jena.

* Hanover was made an electorate for Ernest Augustus by Emperor Leopold, December 19th, 1692. George Louis, his son, succeeded on January 28th, 1698. He, as George I., became King of England in 1714. In the time of George III. Hanover was occupied sometimes by Prussia and sometimes by Napoleon. Hanover was restored to the Elector after the battle of Leipsig in 1813. It was constituted a kingdom by treaty of Vienna, October 11th, 1814. But it was definitely made a monarchy only after Waterloo. "The King of Great Britain and Ireland, having recovered his Continental dominions, entered the German Confederation by the title of 'King of Hanover.'" This was made up of the old electorate and some additions. It was due to the energetic action of Count Münster, who had been for years the Hanoverian Minister in London, that Hanover issued forth from the Congress one-fifth larger than its previous size. Another Hanoverian Minister, Gneisenau, had dreams of a great Hanoverian state which, in the event of the English throne passing in the female line—a contingency even then contemplated—might make Great Britain an independent power on the Continent in a younger branch of the Guelph family. But this was not to be.

deck, accompanied by General Bertrand and Count Las Cases, where he walked to and fro, for a few turns, and occasionally seated himself upon one of the quarter-deck guns. An hour or more afterwards, the officers and the rest of his suite rose from table. After a short conversation, he retired to his cabin, and generally, between nine and ten o'clock, into his own apartment. Such was his uniform life. Having frequently dined in company with him, I observed that he ate heartily, and extremely fast—that his ordinary beverage was claret, diluted with two-thirds water—that he merely scented and moistened his lips with the liqueur presented to him, which I thought, at first, a strange and whimsical custom; on inquiry, I found that his sense of smelling was extremely acute, which was his motive for doing so. He appeared to suffer some inconvenience from the smell of the paint during the passage in the *Northumberland*, in consequence of this peculiar delicacy of smell.

When walking on the deck, he generally spoke to the officer of the watch, the master, or the parson. He appeared sometimes desirous of being present while the master was making his observations: he frequently asked questions of Messrs. Warden and O'Meara, respecting the health of the crew, or upon some medical points, upon which he likes to converse, as being a science of nature. With the parson he discoursed upon the dogmas and regulations of the different religious sects in England*; and frequently he spoke to the captain of marines, who had been under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, at Acre, of the siege of that place. So far, the picture which Mr. Warden has drawn of him,

* Napoleon always took great interest in theological questions; instance his enquiry of Warden concerning the Johnsonians ("Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers," p. 157). The subject is exhaustively treated in "Conversations Religieuses de Napoléon," by M. le Chevalier de Beauterne, Paris, 1841.

is generally correct. From the catastrophe which befel his army at Waterloo, to the period of his arrival off St. Helena, his officers assert that he did not betray the least ill-humour, impatience, or depression of spirits; and I think that his appearance and habits have been very accurately portrayed by our countrymen. When he speaks, he interrogates, and is much fonder of asking questions than of answering. In consequence of having been so long in the habit of receiving a great number of people of different professions, he is accustomed to talk to every one of that particular profession to which he belongs. I saw him once in St. Helena speak for upwards of half an hour to an old Siamese slave, in whose conversation he even appeared to experience some gratification.* His marked attention to return the salute of the lowest classes, and even of the slaves, appeared to me, at first, to be a piece of affectation; but I was informed that such had been invariably his custom, that he had declared it was the duty of a Sovereign to return alike the salute to all men, because, in his eyes, all men had equal rights.

The ship's company appeared to have contracted a degree of friendship for him. I observed that he was very much gratified by the attention paid to him by the midshipmen, in forming a kind of guard of honour

* This man was a gardener at the Briars, the house of Balcombe, the purveyor. He had been entrapped from his native place on board of an English ship several years before and brought to St. Helena. Here he had been sold as a slave, let out to anyone who would hire him, and his earnings appropriated by his master. According to O'Meara, Admiral Cockburn gave instructions for his emancipation, but up to the time that the Admiral left the island this had not been done. When Napoleon discovered the fact he directed Balcombe to purchase him from his master, set him at liberty, and charge the amount to Count Bertram's private account. "Sir Hudson Lowe," says O'Meara, "thought proper to prohibit this, and the man was still in a state of slavery when I left St. Helena."

round him, when the ship was manœuvring, in order to prevent his being incommoded by any of the sailors running against him. I was present one day, when a smart young gentleman, son to General Sir Robert Wilson,* was pointed out to him (with the writings of whose father he was well acquainted): I did not, however, observe any other emotion than a smile, excited in his countenance.

I hasten to finish this long letter, by observing, that, in a discussion which took place some months past, Napoleon, on being informed that a similar assertion had been made to that of Mr. Warden, relative to his having been induced to abdicate, in consequence of Fouché's having presented to him a counterfeit letter from Prince Metternich, regarding the intentions of Austria with respect to his son, declared that such an assertion was *unfounded* and *ridiculous*, and added, that he was astonished from whence it had originated. The reasons which induced him to abdicate, as well as the secret and separate negociations of both Russia and Austria at that epoch, are related with so much force and clearness in the work to which

* Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (1777–1849) is quite one of the most interesting Englishmen in the Napoleonic wars. His life would be worth writing even to-day in a popular form, so full was it of dramatic episodes. As it is, the "Life" of him by his son-in-law, Randolph, was left incomplete, only carrying us down to the year 1807. In 1802 Wilson published his "History of the British Expedition to Egypt," which owed much of its success to its charges against Napoleon of cruelty. These charges have been effectively disproved. In any case, Wilson made many amends in after years. Perhaps the most dramatic of all the episodes in his life was his assisting at the escape of Count Lavalette, when in 1816 that official of Napoleon's Court had been condemned to death. Wilson was dismissed from the army, in which he had rendered exceptional services to the nation, in 1821. This was in consequence of his having attended the funeral of Queen Caroline. He was reinstated when William IV. came to the throne. Wilson sat in many parliaments, and voted for the Reform Bill of 1831. Wilson had seven sons, and the one to whom Napoleon refers in the text became a year or two later equerry to Queen Caroline.

I have before alluded, that I can add nothing more to it.*

I cannot say that I recollect Mr. Warden's having been in the habit of holding long conversations with Napoleon, while in the *Northumberland*, but I observed that the latter always received him with pleasure, and with a smile. His mouth is the most expressive part of his physiognomy, and that which best depicts the different affections of his mind.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

* The author of the "Manuscript Transmitted from St. Helena" is referred to here. He says that Napoleon's plans were perfect for resistance in 1814, but that a despatch which he had imprudently sent to the Empress fell into the hands of the allies. It showed them their danger. "They took the only measure which I had not foreseen, because it was the only good one. They outstripped me and marched upon Paris."

LETTER II.

Cape of Good Hope,
28th of April, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

In running over the second Letter, I observe with pleasure that my task will be short: this is principally occupied by the relations of a conversation said to have been held with Madame Bertrand concerning Talleyrand. As that Lady speaks English perfectly well, nothing can be alledged upon the score of miscomprehension. But has not Mr. Warden rather too minutely repeated expressions, to which at that time Madame Bertrand probably did not attach any importance, and which she suffered to escape from her lips certainly without ever imagining that they would appear in print?*

According to the opinions of the French, and their Chief, at Longwood, Talleyrand is a man of considerable talent; cunning, artful and discreet, but entirely void of principle: his attention, like his heart, constantly fixed upon Fortune's wheel. If you were desirous of ascertaining his sentiments, and questioned him, he was impenetrable; his countenance as unchangeable as marble: but take him at two o'clock in the morning, after sitting up in company, you had no more to do than to listen patiently, and suffer him to talk, without

* Madame Bertrand told Warden that if Talleyrand had but joined the Emperor after Waterloo "we should at this instance have been in Paris, and France would never have changed its master." The statement is, of course, absurd. If Napoleon at an earlier date had had Talleyrand executed he might possibly, although not probably, have held his throne in spite of the incredible follies of his last years of power.

appearing to be desirous of sifting him, he was then a babbling old woman, allowing the most important state secrets to escape him, and guilty of numberless indiscretions. He incurred Napoleon's displeasure and disgrace, and was deprived by him of the direction of foreign affairs, in consequence of reiterated complaints from the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, of the shameful corruption which prevailed in the cabinet of the Tuileries, and because no connexions or treaties could be formed, without previously securing his patronage, by means of large bribes. Napoleon, after having frequently expressed his discontent at this conduct, perceiving, at last, that he was incorrigible; and being, moreover, struck with the stain which such practices would cast upon his government, deprived him of his *portefeuille.** Talleyrand, however, extremely cunning, contrived to soften the blow he had received: and, although he no longer enjoyed the direction of Foreign Affairs, still preserved sufficient credit to be appointed one of those who proceeded to Erfurt in 1807, in quality of Grand Chamberlain, which he united to the rank of Vice Grand Elector: and there he contrived to bring

* The "Mémoires du Prince de Talleyrand" were edited by the Duc de Broglie, and published in 1891. An English translation, with an Introduction by Mr. Whitelaw Reid, appeared in the same year. It is a dull book. Lady Blennerhassett, in 1894, and Mr. Joseph McCabe, in 1906, have both attempted to whitewash Talleyrand. No impartial student, however, will find it possible to determine Talleyrand's share of the responsibility for the ill-advised war with Spain. The contemporary authorities are so conflicting, and there is apparently no documentary evidence in existence. "He goaded me into war, although he was clever enough to pose before the public as an opponent of it," Napoleon said to Las Cases. Napoleon dismissed Talleyrand from the post of Foreign Minister in 1807, and sent him to Italy, and afterwards made him his Ambassador to Erfurt, where he met the Czar in September, 1808, and admittedly betrayed Napoleon. "The French nation is civilised," he said to Alexander, "but its ruler is not; the sovereign of Russia is civilised, but his people are not. The Russian monarch must unite with the French people."

about the marriage of one of his nephews with the young Duchess of Courland. A short time afterwards, being seized with the usual malady of discarded ministers, he intrigued in every direction, in order to be again employed, and to form a ministry in his own interests. The appointment of Rémusat, the First Chamberlain, to be Minister of the Interior, greatly offended him, and was the cause of his losing his situation of Grand Chamberlain, the functions of which were indeed incomparable with those of Vice Grand Elector.

Mr. Warden is correct in stating that Talleyrand was the first who proposed the measures which were afterwards adopted in Spain. To this effect he had long conferences with the Senor Isquierdo; and, during Napoleon's excursion to Fontainbleau in 1807, he explained his projects to him. As he was not at that time intrusted with any employment, the courtiers were astonished at the frequent interviews which took place, and lost themselves in conjectures of what could be the cause of this return of favour towards him.* In his projects for a change of dynasty in Spain, Talleyrand is asserted to have had two objects particularly in view —a desire to enter again into the direction of affairs; and a hope of increasing his already immense fortune. In February, 1812, he was selected to proceed to Dresden, and from thence to Warsaw, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, in order to direct the insurrection and confederation of Poland.

This mission, which was one of the greatest importance, procured him several marks of favour, and Napoleon frequently detained him in the evenings for a considerable time during the months of March and April,

* "You consult me as if we were not on bad terms," said Talleyrand to the Emperor. "Circumstances, circumstances," Napoleon replied; "let us leave the past and the future alone and come to the present."—*Madame de Rémusat.*

as Talleyrand, being a very late riser, never appeared at the Levee. Meanwhile, however, the French Ambassador at Vienna wrote word, that a singular rumour agitated the public mind there, and had produced a great effect upon the exchange, viz. that a credit of a hundred thousand crowns, payable at Warsaw, had been demanded for the Prince of Benevento. This evidently proved that Talleyrand still kept to his old stockjobbing manœuvres and made Napoleon so extremely indignant, that he was neither sent to Dresden, nor intrusted with the Polish concerns; a circumstance rendered still more mortifying to him, as he had had in view the re-establishing the ducal coronet of Courland for his nephew, who was married to the Duchess of Courland, Dame du Palais to the Empress.

I have read a speech of Talleyrand's, while Minister of the Directory, justifying the fête of the 21st of January, as the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. which horrible ceremony he asserted to be just, political, and necessary. He also endeavoured to persuade Napoleon to assist in it in 1798; to which he had displayed a great degree of repugnance.

It is said, that during the negotiation of the Concordat, Napoleon was considerably interested for Talleyrand, and wanted to get him made a Cardinal, which would have been the most effectual mode of restoring a small portion of character to him; but the ex-bishop refused to consent to it; and shortly afterwards Madame Grand, his mistress, came and threw herself at Napoleon's feet, and begged permission from him to marry Talleyrand; this he refused to allow at first; however, Madame Grand having contrived to interest Josephine in her behalf, the marriage took place. This lady having subsequently formed a close connexion with St. Foix, and other agents of corruption, and having received large sums of money, in order to influ-

ence the opinion of the cabinet with respect to the different concerns of Genoa and other Italian states, was in disgrace with Napoleon, and no longer received at Court; and solicited in vain to be permitted to assist at the fête given at the celebration of the marriage of the Archduchess Marie Louise.

These three events greatly altered Talleyrand's disposition towards Napoleon. Nevertheless, he was constant in his attendance at Court. In 1814, Napoleon, at the moment of his departure for the army, at first intended to exile him to his estates, considering that his presence at Paris might, under the existing circumstances, be productive of inconvenience; but the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, and Savary, Minister of Police, who had been influenced by Talleyrand, interceded with so much effect, that they succeeded in obtaining permission for him to remain in Paris. Besides, Talleyrand is said to have been greatly despised, and to have lost the confidence of all parties, with none of whom he had any influence.

It appears that the same cunning on his part has succeeded with Louis XVIII.: and that, after having been the directing minister of affairs, when Louis thought proper to call the Duc de Richelieu into his cabinet, Talleyrand managed to maintain himself at Court, by means of the same office of Grand Chamberlain, which he contrived to have bestowed on him.

I perceive also in this Letter some details relative to the conduct of Massena at the battle of Essling, which are entirely unfounded. Massena never commanded at the side where that village was, but at the village of Aspern: it could not, therefore, have been by him that the attack made upon Essling was sustained. I have been informed by an eye-witness, that the attack upon the spot, which decided the day in favour of the French, was owing to General Rapp, and above all to

Count Lobau, who displayed great bravery, and was dangerously wounded.

Most of the details in this Letter are very suspicious, and I am inclined to think that Mr. Warden has misunderstood conversations held with foreigners possessing a very imperfect knowledge of English. Where, for example, could he learn that Napoleon had been aide-de-camp to General Montholon's father? He is also wrong in stating that Generals Montholon and Gourgaud were aide-de-camps to Napoleon, as neither of them was ever employed in that capacity.

It is to be lamented, that people are exposed to have their opinions respecting living characters printed, without their concurrence. My own journal is filled with similar conversations; but, certainly, I should have some scruples in publishing other people's sentiments concerning persons still in existence.

You will probably feel some pleasure in having anecdotes concerning persons no longer alive. In the manuscripts I have already mentioned, I have seen several, the result of mature discussion, and of assertions reiterated in different conversations.

La Bédoyère (the same who joined Napoleon at Grenoble with his regiment) is represented as a young man possessed of noble sentiments, animated by the love of glory, and by the contempt which he entertained for the Bourbons, whom he conceived to be imposed upon his country by foreign bayonets. He is described as having declared himself in a moment of the greatest danger, with the noblest freedom and courage, and as having been possessed with sentiments of real attachment, even to enthusiasm, for Napoleon.*

* La Bédoyère, Charles Angélique François Huchet (1786–1815) deserved all the praise given to him. He was in Napoleon's army from 1806, was wounded at Essling, but fought at Lützen and at Bautzen. After the abdication at Fontainebleau he was persuaded by his royalist relations to give allegiance to the Bourbons, and he was decorated by

Ney is represented as having been perhaps the *bravest* man in the French army, but as one who had little education or information: that in the presence of Napoleon he was extremely submissive, and circumspect in his language; although, out of it, he sometimes allowed himself to make use of unguarded expressions. The language which it has been asserted he held to Napoleon at Fontainbleau is denied by Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, who were both present, and who further declare, that the troops were so much enraged against their betrayers that at the slightest gesture they would have massacred Ney.

It is stated, that Ney was sincere in his protestations to the King on the 8th of March 1815, and that he was entirely ignorant of what was going on at Elba; and that even until the 13th of March he was faithful to the King. After reading the proclamations from the Gulf of St. Jean, the addresses from Grenoble and the different towns in Dauphiné, of Lyons, and the towns of the Lyonnaise; from the troops in Grenoble and Lyons; and the news of the precipitate flight of Monsieur and the Princes; of the defection of all the regiments that were to compose his army, except four, who were at Lons-le-Saulnier with him; considering also the determination, loudly expressed even by them, to assume the tri-colour cockade; a witness of the extraordinary movements which agitated all the peasants and all the communes of Franche Compté, whose joy and exultation, as well as that which was manifested by all the peasants

Louis XVIII. When Napoleon returned from Elba and arrived at Vizille, the town so intimately associated with the opening of the French Revolution, La Bédoyère joined him with his entire regiment, but not without some plain speaking. "Sire," he said, "no more ambition, no more despotism. We wish to be free and happy. It is essential that your Majesty should abjure the system of conquests and of absolute power which has been the misfortune of France—and yours." La Bédoyère fought at Waterloo, and was shot by order of Louis XVIII. after a trial in Paris.

of the surrounding provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, and Champagne, knew no bounds, Ney began to waver; was led away, and his old principles prevailed; so that he gave himself up to his former affections.

On the 13th of March he received from General Bertrand (who then performed the duties of Major-general) an order to put his troops in motion, with a letter from Napoleon himself, composed of the following lines, viz., "My cousin Bertrand sends you orders to put yourself in motion. I have not the least doubt, but that the moment you heard of my arrival at Lyons, you caused the tri-colour flag to be mounted by my troops. Obey his orders, and meet me at Chalons! I will receive you as I did the day after Elchingen and Moskwa."

Ney could hold out no longer against all these circumstances! On the morning of the 14th, he assembled his four regiments, and read to them the well-known proclamation, which, at the same time, was posted up and sent to every place under his orders. The proclamation was composed entirely by himself, and contained his own sentiments. It appears, that, conceiving matters to be decided, he wanted to assume some merit to himself. The opinion prevalent amongst the French at Longwood is, that if Ney had declared himself five days sooner, and whilst the French Princes were still at Lyons, his conduct must have been regarded in the same light as that of La Bédoyère; but that at the moment the proclamation was made, Ney had, in fact, no longer any control, and consequently violated all ideas of public decency needlessly. It would have been much better for him to have left the four regiments at Lons-le-Saulnier, to their own impulse, and to have returned himself to Paris; to declare what was strictly true, "that he could not resist the will of the people and

the troops!" At the time that he sent his proclamation to Bertrand, he accompanied it with a letter to Napoleon, in which he said, "that if the conduct which he had pursued the year before had tended to deprive him of his confidence, he was ready to retire to his estate." Napoleon, not over-well inclined towards him, and, disgusted by the terms of the proclamation, had, as I have been informed, dictated a letter accepting his resignation; but political considerations, not very difficult to be comprehended, overruled his first intention, and an order was sent him to join at Auxerre. Ney, on his arrival, is stated to have been extremely embarrassed, and not in a state of mind to hold such language as had been attributed to him; but Napoleon treated him in the manner he had been always accustomed to do, and even called him frequently "bravest of the brave." After this, he was commissioned to inspect all the strong places upon the frontiers, which he did, from Dunkirk to Strasbourg, and then assisted at the Champ de Mai.*

Ney's conduct has been compared with that of Marshal Turenne, in 1649, who then had the command of the King's army in Alsace, to which he had been appointed by Anne of Austria, Regent of France. He had taken the oath of fidelity to the King, and, notwithstanding this, he tampered with, and endeavoured to corrupt his army—declared himself for the "*Fronde*," and marched upon Paris, thus betraying his King and

* Ney, having told Louis XVIII. that he would bring back Napoleon to Paris in an iron cage, marched to meet him; but his troops deserted one by one and went over to the Emperor. "It is impossible for me to stop the waters of the ocean with my own hand," he cried. When Napoleon reached Paris he had already repented. He, however, took command of one of the Emperor's armies marching towards Belgium. "You have ruined France!" shouted Napoleon at him at one point of the campaign, but he fought bravely at Waterloo. Five horses were killed under him, and his clothes were riddled with bullets. He escaped, however, only to be seized, tried in Paris, and sentenced to death. He was shot on December 7th, 1815.

breaking his oath. Being declared guilty of high treason by the King, his army repented, returned to their duty, and abandoned him. Turenne, when pursued, fled to the Prince of Hesse, in order to take refuge from the hands of justice, accompanied by only six of his friends. Ney was led away by the unanimous voice of his army, and by that of the people; he had not acknowledged, otherwise than by force, and only since nine months, a Sovereign imposed upon France by 600,000 foreign bayonets—and which Sovereign had not accepted the constitution presented to him by the Senate, as the condition of his return, but who declared that he had reigned for *nineteen* years, thereby pronouncing all the preceding governments to be usurpations and *his intention to attempt a counter-revolution*. Ney had been brought up in the principles of *the sovereignty* of nations, and had fought for twenty-five years to cause those principles to be acknowledged during the contest, rising from the ranks, to the post of Marshal. Ney's conduct, if not honourable, was at least in some degree justifiable; but that of Turenne was highly criminal, inasmuch as the "*Fronde*" was a party in alliance with Spain, with which power *his* King was at war, and because he was guided solely by his own interest, and that of his family, hoping to gain a sovereignty by the dismemberment of his country.

The defenders of Ney have asserted that Bertrand had assured him that England and Austria coincided with Napoleon, and that there was an understanding between them. This is denied by Bertrand, and asserted, moreover, to be contrary to the proclamations issued from the Gulf of St. Jean, and to the speeches then delivered: that in the proclamations it was stated *Napoleon would not be indebted to foreigners for any thing—but to the people and to the army for all.* In

the speeches pronounced during the route at Digne, Gap, Grenoble, Auxerre, Lyons, Ville-France, Chalons, and afterwards at Paris, he asserts that Napoleon constantly declared "that all his merit, in this great event, consisted in his having known how to appreciate duly the sentiments of the people and the army; that *he had not made any agreement with any foreign prince, and that he would esteem it a crime to make use of their interference in the internal affairs of the country.*"

A curious conversation is said to have taken place, eight hours after Napoleon's landing at Cannes, between him and the Prince of Monaco, formerly first equerry to Josephine.* It was at one o'clock in the morning—the moon had been up about half an hour. Napoleon was standing in the bivouac of his soldiers, with his back turned towards a small fire. The Prince of Monaco was presented, and immediately recognised him; until then, he had refused to give any credit to the report of his being there. "What," said he, "Your Majesty here! It is then useless for me to continue my route towards my principality. A division of your army has without doubt, ere now, taken possession of it." "And pray of what nation is that division?"—"It is impossible for me to say," replied the Prince; "perhaps Austrians or English."—"What! do you suppose me to be base

* In February, 1793, the French Republic annexed the Principality of Monaco. Honoré Gabriel Grimaldi was the Prince to whom reference is made. He had been wounded at Hohenlinden, in 1800, fought with Murat in Germany in 1806, and in Spain in 1808. Napoleon then offered him the post of Equerry to Josephine, and he continued in Josephine's household after the divorce, refusing to accept a similar position with regard to Marie Louise. Talleyrand saved his estates by a phrase in the Treaty of Paris of 1814. Here is one version of the meeting of Emperor and Prince after Elba:—

"Hullo, Monaco, where are you going?"

"Like you, sire, I am going to look up my old kingdom?"

The English occupied Monaco during the Hundred Days.

enough to enter France with a foreign army? No; you behold it all—all are Frenchmen; and the whole force does not amount to 3000 men: they will march by in about an hour's time, and you may then go on to your destination."—"And to where do you proceed in this manner?"—"To Paris." Immediately afterwards, Napoleon made a signal, and the rest of the auditors retired, leaving them to converse together, which they did for nearly half an hour, about some persons of their acquaintance; but nothing further of the conversation has transpired.

A great many other circumstances are detailed in my Journal, from which I will extract a few words relative to Lavalette. Lavalette had been aide-de-camp to Napoleon during the campaigns of Italy and Egypt. In the month of Fructidor, he was ordered to observe every thing which took place in Paris, and to give his General immediate information of it. On the 18th of Brumaire, the situation of Director General of Posts became vacant, by the nomination of M. Gaudin* (afterwards Duke of Gaeta) to be Minister of Finance, and was filled for a short time by the Sieur Laforest†: however, as it was deemed absolutely necessary that such an important situation should be occupied by a person who enjoyed Napoleon's *special* confidence, and as Laforest was too closely connected with Talleyrand,

* Gaudin, Martin Michel Charles, Duc de Gaeta (1756–1841), held the office of Finance Minister for some years, and established the Bank of France. He was made Duc de Gaeta in 1809. He remained faithful to Napoleon after the Restoration, but held the office of Governor of the Bank of France from 1820 to 1834.

† Antoine Revé, Comte de Laforest (1756–1846), was first in the diplomatic service of France, and was made Secretary of Legation to the United States in 1779 and Consul-General in 1788. He returned to France in 1793. He obtained from Talleyrand the position of Director-General of Posts, and accompanied Joseph Bonaparte to the Congress of Lunéville. He was ambassador at Madrid for five years from 1808. He held many public offices after the Restoration.

Lavalette was appointed to this place, then of great importance, and which subsequently became infinitely more so. The Minister of Police transmitted daily to Napoleon a report upon such events in the departments as had attracted his attention—the Prefect of Police gave in another, relative to such events as occurred in Paris: both of these magistrates had been in the habit of inserting in their bulletins long reviews of the state of the public spirit, drawn up during the passions and interests of the moment. Napoleon suppressed this custom, and ordered that they should confine themselves to matters of fact, without drawing any inferences or conclusions; nevertheless, being at the same time desirous of knowing intimately the public opinion upon the acts of his administration, he selected twelve reporters (men distinguished in literature) out of the most opposite parties, amongst whom were some of the party of the Mountain, as well as that of the Gironde, of the Constitutionalists of 1791, some who had emigrated and lived in England, and others who had served in Condé's army. These twelve persons received, through the medium of Lavalette, a salary of one thousand francs monthly, and transmitted directly to him once or twice a month (as they thought proper), a report, upon whatever subject, relative to the administration, the state of the public mind, or upon whatever might have taken place during the month. In order that these twelve reporters might express themselves with more liberty and freedom, they directed their letters as if they were intended for Lavalette: he immediately put them into Napoleon's *portefeuille*, who, according to what I have learned, opened them directly, ran over their contents, and afterwards destroyed them, first making such extracts as he thought necessary from them, with his own hand. This was done in such a manner, that not even his most confidential secretaries

had any knowledge of this correspondence. General Bertrand assured me, that even he himself had been always totally ignorant of the names of the above-mentioned reporters, though he had occasionally suspected two or three individuals to belong to that number. Moreover, they were chosen from people who had no employments, and who were not in the habit of attending at Court. Napoleon never sent for them, and did not even know most of them by sight; and they themselves knew not whether their letters had been perused.

I have been assured that Lavalette was entirely uninformed of what was plotting at Elba, and that the reason he quitted his house in the middle of March, and concealed himself, was on account of his known attachment to Napoleon, which he was apprehensive would cause his being arrested as an hostage. In this conduct he was by no means singular, as a great number of persons, who were wholly unacquainted with what was going on, concealed themselves from similar motives.

Madame Lavalette (daughter of the Marquis Beauharnais, who, as well as his brother, the Viscount, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, was of the opposite party, and served in Condé's army during the time that his brother commanded the republican armies) was cousin to Eugène Beauharnais. She was extremely handsome, and was married to Lavalette, to whom she was partial, by desire of Napoleon, after his return from the first campaign of Italy, in 1798; she was afterwards Dame d'Atour to Josephine; and during that period the splendour of her charms was considerably impaired by the small-pox, though she is still a fine woman. She was of rather an indolent disposition; and of all the women of their acquaintance, she was the last they would have supposed capable of the

heroic action which has rendered her so deservedly illustrious.*

* In the whole dramatic story of the Napoleonic epoch, no episode stands out with more marked effect than that of the escape of Lavalette from prison through the courage and devotion of his wife. On Napoleon's return to Paris from Elba in 1815, Count Lavalette resumed his position as Director-General of Posts. For this, after the return of Louis XVIII., he was put upon his trial and condemned to the guillotine. Marshal Ney had just been sentenced and executed. The Government aspired to make an example from the civil, as well as from the military, point of view, and no amount of intercession could obtain a reprieve from the King or from his niece, the even more rigorous Duchesse d'Angoulême. A day before the execution was to take place the Countess Lavalette, with her daughter, visited the Count in his prison. The Countess went behind a screen, attired her husband in her robes, and remained in prison, while Lavalette, leaning on the arm of his daughter, left the prison and was taken in a Sedan chair to a carriage which was stationed at a given point. Nothing, however, could have saved Lavalette, so keen was the search for him, had it not been that he found a friend in a Government official. M. Baudus and his wife resided at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and they gave him a room in an upper floor of that house, one of the last mansions in all Paris that was in danger of being searched. He was here for many days while the search was being kept up, and even then he could not have escaped had it not been for the generous intervention of three Englishmen, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Hutchinson, and Sir Robert Wilson, the last of whom had attained to a considerable reputation as a general in the British Army. These provided him with an English uniform, and Sir Robert Wilson accompanied him across France, leaving him safe on the way to Bavaria, where Prince Eugène, his wife's cousin, was married to the daughter of the King. A tragic aspect of the dramatic flight is that Madame de Lavalette lost her reason, and suffered for many years afterwards, although she eventually recovered. Wilson and Hutchinson were both sentenced by the Paris Courts to three months' imprisonment, and the Prince Regent was pleased to express his displeasure at the conduct of these two brave and humane officers. It is interesting to recall that in 1826, when Sir Robert Wilson was running one of his Parliamentary candidatures, Lavalette came over to England to support the man who had so heroically saved him.

"We leaped for joy when we heard of the deliverance of Lavalette," says Las Cases. Someone observed that his deliverer, Wilson, could not be the same individual who had written so many offensive things concerning the Emperor. "And why not?" said Napoleon. "You know but little of men, and the passions that actuate them. What leads you to suppose that Sir Robert Wilson is not a man of enthusiasm and violent passions, who wrote what he then believed to be true? And

I could extract from my Journal many more details concerning the characters who, of late, have occupied such a considerable portion of the public attention; but this letter is already long enough, and I am afraid of fatiguing your attention concerning men, whose names ere long will be buried in oblivion.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

while we were enemies we contended with each other; but in our present adversity he knows better. He may have been abused, and deceived, and may be sorry for it; and he is perhaps now as sincere in wishing us well as he formerly was in seeking to injure us." Here Napoleon exactly hit the situation. The copy of Wilson's book in my library is entitled:—

"History of the British Expedition to Egypt; to which is subjoined a Sketch of the Present State of that Country and its Means of Defence. By Robert Thomas Wilson, Lieutenant-Colonel in his Britannic Majesty's Service and Knight of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa. Second Edition. London: T. Egerton. 1803."

Wilson's book served as an arsenal for attacks on Napoleon for many a year, but later he became filled with just and generous sympathy for the fallen Emperor.

LETTER III

Cape of Good Hope,
1st of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.,

In reviewing Mr. Warden's third Letter, a more difficult task presents itself, and more important subjects are to be discussed. It is asserted in it that the Duke of Bassano* was at the head of the conspiracy to bring back Napoleon into France; that numbers of individuals were dispatched from France to Elba: and that Napoleon was induced to think, that the English were determined to send him to St. Helena, &c. These accounts are entirely contrary to what I have read in any of the *Longwood* manuscripts; to what I have been told in different conversations with Marshal Bertrand, and learned, even from the mouth of Napoleon himself, who has been frequently heard to declare "that in his return from Elba he had no other co-operator than *the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and his daughter-in-law;* that it was *their* measures, and those which *they* inspired to the government at the Tuileries, which convinced him that they were insulated in the midst of the

* The Duke of Bassano. Hugues Bernard Maret (1763–1839) was born at Dijon, was a journalist in Paris during the Revolution, and a contributor to the *Moniteur*, founded in 1789. In 1792 he was sent to England to endeavour to secure the neutrality of that country. He was sent in 1793 to Naples by the Republican Government, and on the way was captured by the Austrians and imprisoned. He was, however, included in the batch of prisoners who were exchanged for Madame Royale. He assisted Napoleon in the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, and, under the First Consul, became Secretary of State. He served Napoleon during the Hundred Days, was banished at the second Restoration, and returned to France in 1820. He was made a peer in 1831.

nation, and had only in their favour the Emigrant party and the counter-revolutionists."* To one of the above-mentioned manuscripts, the following passage was prefixed by way of title: "one of the former kings of Egypt ordered that after his death his mummy should be placed upon the throne of his fathers, in the middle of the interior chamber of the great Pyramid: where it remained excluded from the external air; and after a series of years had gone by, on the priests of Memphis penetrating into the interior of the Pyramid, and on the admission of the light, the mummy and its throne crumbled into dust, being no longer fitted to resist either the effects of the atmosphere or the sun."

In this same manuscript it is stated that Napoleon was determined to go and replace himself upon the Imperial throne, from his own private impulse, and guided by the sole aspect of the acts of the Royal Government; that, in departing from Fontainbleau in 1814, he said, "If the Bourbons govern as the chiefs of the fifth dynasty, they will succeed; if, on the contrary, they endeavour to continue the third, they will not remain long:" that before departing from Elba, several of his suite were desirous that he should inform himself of Massena's sentiments, who commanded upon the coast where the disembarkation was to be effected, and also how the General who commanded at Grenoble was affected towards him: that he, however, instantly rejected both propositions, saying, "If I have preserved

* A recent historian of the Elba episode, Paul Gruyer ("Napoleon, King of Elba"), makes it clear that Napoleon knew everything that was going on in France, but that he had no direct communication with any authoritative person, and no correspondence with any one of his old generals. Joseph Cambour, the Revolutionary financier, who was opposed to the Empire, perhaps gave Napoleon his greatest incentive, for in a letter to a member of Napoleon's Court at Elba he wrote:—"We expelled the Bourbons from France. Now they are expelling themselves from the hearts of the French."

the hearts of the people and the army, they will soon bend to their sovereign will the inclinations of all particular persons; if I have lost them, I have nothing to hope from the influence of a few individuals. It is by means of the imagination and the opinions of great bodies that I have always acted." His subsequent success, and the acclamations with which he was received by the people and the army, have surprised all the world. It is said that Marshal Soult (who, according to the above-mentioned manuscript, really served the King faithfully) thought, when he first heard of the landing, that a few gens d'armes would be sufficient to defeat the attempt; or that Bonaparte would proceed to Italy; but that he afterwards confessed the events which had taken place, had been to him a revelation of the secret feelings of the nation and the army, of which he had not entertained the slightest idea before.* Cambacérès, Savary, Fouché, Carnot, and several others, frequently expressed a similar opinion: they never doubted that Napoleon had a great many partisans; but they had not believed it possible that he could have arrived in Paris, in the manner he did, without firing a musket.

With respect to the supposed determination of the English cabinet, to remove Napoleon from Elba, in order to transfer him to St. Helena, it is stated, that this was asserted at the time in the English, and repeated in all the French, German, and Italian newspapers, as having been positively agreed upon, and had

* "Soult did not betray Louis, nor was he privy to my return. For some days he thought I was mad, and that I must certainly be lost. Notwithstanding this, appearances were so against him, and, without intending it, his acts turned out to be so favourable to my project, that were I on his jury and deprived of what I know, I should have condemned him for having betrayed Louis. But he really was not privy to it."—Thus spoke Napoleon at St. Helena. Soult accepted each government in turn. He died in 1851. His meeting with Wellington in London in 1838 is a well-known episode in his life.

produced some uneasiness at Elba, and in consequence several forts were put in a state of defence, and the garrisoning and provisioning of that stronghold was completed. However, Colonel Campbell,* our countryman, the commissioner appointed to watch Napoleon, came on purpose from Florence, in order to disavow such reports, and hold them up to contempt as false and absurd; but, at the same time, he dropped some remonstrances with respect to the occupation of Palmariola and Pianosa by Napoleon. Palmariola is a small rock, situated half way between Elba and Piombino, upon the former of which it is dependent. It is uninhabited, and produces nothing; upon the most elevated part there is a small tower fortified with four guns, and garrisoned by three invalids, and a bombardier, who is *governor*. Pianosa is a little island, also dependent upon Elba, lying about midway between that and Corsica. It is a rock composed of coral, and covered with olives, and other different kinds of trees. It is about fifteen miles in circumference, and presents a level surface elevated to about twenty fathoms above the sea, but from fear of pirates it is uninhabited. Colonel Campbell insisted that these two islands had not been included in the grant, but he was rather confounded when General Bertrand showed him the deed of possession, in which

* Colonel Campbell (1776–1827) became Sir Neil Campbell. His "Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba, Being a Journal of Occurrences in 1814–15," was published long years after his death—in 1869. Campbell served in Jamaica, and was in the Spanish War. He was for a time with Lord Cathcart at St. Petersburg, and was by him recommended to Lord Castlereagh. Hence his appointment as British Commissioner at Elba. Campbell was not sent to watch Napoleon, and it was Napoleon's shrewdness which led him to beg the Commissioner to stay on the island. His supposed permanence there put the British admirals off their guard. Campbell had definite work to do for his Government in Italy, and it was during one of his absences that the Expedition of the Hundred Days was commenced. He fought at Waterloo, and later he became Governor of Sierra Leone, where he died.

Pianosa, Palmariola, and Monte Christo were expressly named, and which had been signed by the commissioners of the allied powers. General Bertrand also reminded him that he had had the honour of *himself* accompanying Napoleon to take possession of Pianosa, and had made one of a hunting party in it. This appeared to throw some light upon the ulterior projects of the allied powers; but this step of Colonel Campbell's not having been taken until the beginning of February, the expedition from Elba had been then, it is stated, decided upon.

With respect to the treaty of Fontainbleau, Napoleon asserts that the allies did not adhere to it in any point (as you have seen so ably shown by Earl Grey, in his speech in the House of Lords), and that justice was entirely on his side. He affirms that there were no less than ten material violations of the treaty on the part of the allies, which being curious to learn, I subsequently obtained and entered in my Journal, in the words of the person I heard them from. 1st. Passports were to have been given to all Napoleon's family, in order to admit them to follow him; but, notwithstanding this, his wife and son were seized and sent to Vienna. 2dly. He was to have been considered and treated as Emperor, and his wife as Empress; but the French court would never acknowledge this condition; on the contrary, Louis seated upon the throne at Paris, and his *pretended legitimate party*, had considered the Imperial government as an usurped one, had dated his acts in the 19th year of his reign, and acted as if Napoleon had never governed either as First Consul or Emperor. 3dly. Prince Eugène was to have had a sovereignty in Italy: this formed an article in the treaty of Fontainbleau; but the Congress, by its own authority, excluded him from that, instigated, no doubt, by the *legitimate*

party. 4thly. The Empress Marie Louise, and her son, were to have the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla: both were deprived of them by the Congress at Vienna, upon the same principle of *legitimacy*.* 5thly. The army was to have preserved all the endowments assigned it upon the funds of the establishment at the Mount Napoleon; which were, however, all suppressed. 6thly. The island of Elba required troops to defend it, and produced nothing. The French Court was to pay Napoleon two millions for his own support, and that of the island. This article was violated; and several English travellers declared at Elba, that when present at different dinners, and amongst others at the Duke of Fleury's, they had heard it declared that it *never had been intended to be paid*, and *never would be;* the papers asserted positively the same, and *in fact payment* never was made. 7thly. Napoleon's brothers and his mother had certain revenues assigned to them, which were never paid. 8thly. A rent-charge of one hundred thousand francs had been made upon the great book of France, to be paid to such persons as Napoleon thought proper. Assignments were accordingly made, which were refused to be entered upon the great book. 9thly. Napoleon's private property was to be preserved to him, and particularly the funds which had arisen from the savings made by him in the civil list. Now, all the funds arising from such savings, which amounted to a considerable sum, and had been placed in the hands of the treasurer, Labouellière, were seized upon, contrary to the spirit of the treaty, and all the requisitions made by Napoleon in his own private right were disregarded. 10thly. The private properties of Napoleon's family were to be

* This was actually the only item of the treaty that was respected. The Congress of Vienna gave these Duchies to Marie Louise, and, as we know, she reigned over them until her death in 1847; but at her death they were to fall to the Infant Don Carlos and not to the King of Rome.

respected; in violation of this condition; however, they were sequestrated by the King. "Here, then," said Las Cases, "are ten manifest violations of the treaty made by the allies; for which no justification can be offered; but," continued he, "where is the right of nations, or where is the treaty, which has not been violated by the Congress of Vienna, the controlling powers of which were not actuated, either by the interests or the happiness of Europe, but solely by their own ambition?"

I heard Napoleon converse several times on board of the *Northumberland*, with the captain of marines, about the siege of Acre, at which that officer was present. He appeared to discourse of it with that pleasure which is commonly experienced in relating past events, particularly those in which more or less danger had been encountered. I heard him relate a striking instance of devotion manifested towards himself, by two of his guards, during that memorable siege. Being at the trenches, Napoleon sunk into a hole, made by a shell, which fell between his legs: two of his guards, named, I think, Dumesnil and Charbonet, ran up, grasped him, one before and the other behind, and remained in that position until the shell exploded, of which several fragments fell at his feet, without, however, hurting either himself or the brave fellows who had behaved so heroically. The failure of the attack is principally attributed to the capture of four xebecs laden with twelve 24 pounders, some mortars and ammunition, by the English squadron at the moment they had entered the port of Caifa under Mount Carmel.

Several errors have crept into this Letter of Mr. Warden. It is there stated, that Napoleon had professed Mahometanism in Egypt through policy; this he denies ever to have done, and says that Menou was the only French officer of any distinction who embraced

that religion.* I have read in the Campaigns of Egypt, two very interesting chapters, one relative to the Christian religion and Mahometanism, full of novel ideas; and the other relative to the "*Fetham*" issued by the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar, concerning the oath of obedience, and in which are detailed the means by which he obtained this *Fetham* from the ministers of the grand mosque at Cairo; from both of which it appears, that Napoleon maintains as a principle, that in all matters above human comprehension, every one ought to continue in the religion of his forefathers, and in the bosom of which he was born. The following extracts were made from it relative to the deliberation of the sixty doctors of the mosque at Cairo and Semil-Azar.

"The Koran ordains, either to exterminate infidels, or to make them submit to tribute; it does not admit of either obedience or submission to an infidel power; which is contrary to the spirit of our holy religion; "Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's," saith Jesus Christ: and elsewhere, "My kingdom is not of this world; obey the powers." In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries the Christians ruled in Syria, but religion was the cause of constant wars. It was a war of extermination. To it, Europe sent thou-

* Yet if we are to trust Gourgaud, Napoleon showed a great leaning towards Mahometanism in his conversations at St. Helena. Recalling his Egyptian campaign, moreover, he says :—

"The Sheiks always told me that if I wished to establish myself in Egypt as a patriarch, the French Army must assume the turban and turn Mohammedan. That was my own intention, but I would not take the step until I was sure it would succeed, else, like Menou, I should only have made myself ridiculous. I could have made my army do anything I pleased; it was so much attached to me."

And later, in a discussion with Gourgaud, he says :—

"I believe in a superior intelligence. I should also believe as firmly in Christ as Pius VII. does, if the Christian religion went as far back as the beginning of the world and had been the universal religion; but when I see Mohammedans following a religion more simple than ours, a religion better adapted to their way of living than ours. . . ."

But this was merely a sheer love of argument. Napoleon's intellect was of an order more common in our day than in his—he was indifferent.

sands of men, who there perished. If such a spirit had animated the Egyptians, it would not have been possible for twenty-five or thirty thousand Frenchmen, who, moreover, were not animated by any fanaticism, but, on the contrary, greatly disgusted with the country, to have maintained a similar contest. Although masters of Cairo and Alexandria, and victorious over the Mamelukes at the Pyramids, still the question of the conquest was not decided without first conciliating the Imams, the Muphtis, the Ulmas, and all the ministers of the Mahometan religion. The French army, from the time of the revolution, did not profess or practise *any* religion: even in Italy, the army never went to church. Advantage was taken of this circumstance. The French army was represented to the Mussulmen as an army of Catechumens, disposed to embrace the Mahometan religion. The Christian sects, Cophts, Greeks, Syrians, Latins, who were very numerous, wanted to profit by the presence of the French, in order to relieve themselves from the different restrictions which had been imposed upon their worship: Napoleon, however, opposed this, and took care to maintain religious matters upon the then existing footing. Every day at sunrise, the sixty Cheicks of the great mosque of Semil-Azar (a kind of Sorbonne) presented themselves at his levee. He there caused sherbet and coffee to be served to them, and loaded them with marks of esteem and consideration. He frequently conversed at length with them, respecting the different circumstances of the life of their prophet, and of chapters of the Koran. After his return from the battle at Salleis, he proposed to them to issue a Fetham, which should be read in all the mosques in Egypt, and in which the great Cheicks should order all the people to take an oath of obedience to him (Napoleon) whom they called Sultan Kiber. At the proposal they turned pale, and were greatly em-

barrassed. After some hesitation, the Cheick Sap Kao, a respectable old man, said to Napoleon, "Why do you not become a Mussulman; and make all your army do the same? Then one hundred thousand men would rush to your standards; and, disciplined in *your* manner, you could soon re-establish the Arabian kingdom, and subdue the East." To this Napoleon objected *circumcision*, to which he could not submit his army; and, afterwards, the prohibition contained in the Koran, to drink wine, alleging that, being people from the North, such beverage was indispensably necessary to the French soldiers. After several discussions upon the subject, it was decided that the great Cheicks of Semil-Azar should unite together, and endeavour to find means to do away with the two above-mentioned obstacles. The disputes upon the question ran high, and lasted for three weeks; but the rumour which prevailed through all Egypt, that the great Cheicks were employed in concerting together measures, in order to render the army Mussulmen, filled the minds of the inhabitants with joy, and the French soon experienced a great melioration in the public spirit, and were no longer considered as infidels. When the Ulmas had agreed in opinion, four Muphtis brought the *Fetham*, in which it was declared that *circumcision*, being only a *perfection*, was not indispensably necessary in order to be a Mussulman; that likewise Mussulmen might drink wine, and still be Mussulmen; but that, in this last case, there was no hope of Paradise in the next world. One half of the great *difficulty* was thus removed: but it was not easy to persuade the Muphtis that the latter part of their decision was unreasonable: to accomplish this, was the object of the discussions of six weeks more; finally, however, they issued a *Fetham*, declaring that it was possible to be a Mussulman, and drink wine, provided that, for every bottle of wine, so drank, some good action

was performed. It was then agreed, that some time was requisite to prepare every thing necessary for this great event; accordingly, the plan of a mosque, larger than that of Semil-Azar, was sketched out, which Napoleon declared should be built, in order to serve as a monument to commemorate the epoch of the conversion of the French army. This succeeded so well in gaining their opinions, that the Fetham of obedience was given by the Cheicks—the Sultan Kiber declared to be the *Friend of the Prophet*, and *specially* protected by him—and a report was universally circulated, that, before the expiration of a year, all the army would assume the turban." This, it is stated, was the line of march which Napoleon invariably pursued, viz. reconciling the desire which he had to continue in the same religion in which he was born, with the necessities of his policy and his ambition. During the stay of the French army in Egypt, General Menou alone, became a Mussulman, which was said to have been useful, and to have produced a good effect upon the minds of the inhabitants; when the French Army quitted Egypt, however, five or six hundred remained behind, who embraced Mahometanism, and enrolled themselves among the Mamelukes.

I will finish this letter with a few details relative to Ferdinand VII.* of whom I have heard and read as

* The story of the quarrel between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand has been often told. Napoleon was appealed to, and in one of his conversations in St. Helena, reported by Las Cases, the Emperor said, "When I saw those idiots quarrelling, and trying to oust each other, I thought I might well take advantage of it to dispossess a family antagonistic to me. I did not invent their quarrels, and if I had known the matter would have brought so much trouble to me I should never have undertaken it." French troops entered Madrid in 1808, when Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Spain. Ferdinand VII., with his uncle, Don Antonio, and his brother, Carlos, were sent to Valençai, where Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, had a beautiful castle. Ferdinand was not as happy as Napoleon suggests during these six years of

follows: Ferdinand was placed at Valençai in the Prince of Benevento's château, one of the most beautiful in France, situated in the midst of a vast forest. His brother and uncle were with him. No guard was placed over them; they were at liberty to receive whom ever they pleased, and all their officers and servants were with them. They frequently went out to the distance of three or four leagues, either to hunt, or in their carriages, without being spoken to or observed. Independent of 3000*l.* sterling, paid annually by the French treasury to Talleyrand for rent, Ferdinand had 60,000*l.* sterling, yearly allowed to him for his support. These were all stipulations made in a treaty which had been entered into and ratified.*

The prince wrote regularly every month to Napoleon, and received answers from him. On the 15th of August, (The Empress's fête,) he illuminated Valençai, and dis-

imprisonment. Talleyrand, who hated Napoleon's little joke of giving him the prisoners to look after, says that his principal occupation was cutting out figures in paper with a pair of scissors. Then began the Peninsular war. Ferdinand returned in 1814, and a long struggle took place over the question of a Constitution and the abolition of the Inquisition. Ferdinand died in 1833, presenting the interesting spectacle of an old-world tyrant, an enthusiast for the Inquisition, an enemy of liberty, in every shape and form, yet owing his throne to British arms and British bravery, and, be it remembered, to the countrymen of Hampden and Bunyan.

* Napoleon's letter of instructions to Talleyrand concerning his prisoners is to be found in Oman's "Peninsular War," Vol. I., translated from Lecestre's "Lettres Inédites de Napoléon I." :—

"Let the princes be received without any show, but yet respectably, and try to keep them amused. If you chance to have a theatre at Valençai, there would be no harm in importing some actors now and then. You may bring over Madame Talleyrand and four or five ladies in attendance on her. If the prince should fall in love with some pretty girl among them, there would be no harm in it, especially if you are quite sure of her. The prince must not be allowed to take any false step, but must be amused and occupied. I ought, for political safety, to put him in Bitsch or some other fortress-prison; but as he placed himself in my clutches of his own free will, and as everything in Spain is going on as I desire, I have resolved merely to place him in a country house where he can amuse himself under strict surveillance. . . . Your mission is really a very honourable one—to take in three illustrious guests and keep them amused is a task which should suit a Frenchman of your rank."

tributed alms. He asked permission several times of Napoleon to visit Paris, and was put off from time to time. He also entreated *earnestly* of Napoleon to adopt him as his son, and to marry him to a French woman. During the whole of the time that he was at Valençai, there were no grounds whatever given him for complaint. He had in that house the use of a superb library, from which he acquired a good deal of instruction. He had his almoners and confessors—frequently received visits from the neighbouring gentlemen and merchants from Paris; the latter of whom were very assiduous in bringing him everything that was new. For a long time he had a theatre, to which he attached some comedians; but latterly his confessors inspired him with some scruples, and he dismissed the troop. The King his father, and the Queen his mother, were a long time at Compeigne; from thence they went to Marseilles, and afterwards to Rome, where they lodged in Prince Borghese's palace. They had 120,000*l.* sterling per annum allowed them. The Queen of Etruria,* Ferdinand's sister, was one of those who took the warmest part in the Spanish Revolution. Her correspondence with Murat, then commanding in Spain, is extremely curious, being full of invectives and inculpations of the most criminal nature against Ferdinand. She was of her mother's party against her brother, and acted her part with great zeal. She remained a long time at Nice. She was extremely ugly, and with a very limited share of either talent or information, though possessed of some activity of mind. She afterwards

* Louisiana, on the American continent, came into the hands of France in 1800, when the concession was made to Spain that the Prince of Parma should be called King of Etruria. His wife was daughter of Charles IV. of Spain and sister of Ferdinand. In 1808 Etruria was annexed to the French Empire, and we hear no more of this name borrowed from antiquity. The Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise in 1814, and passed from her to the Spanish Bourbons upon the ex-Empress's death in 1847.

opened a correspondence with the English officer commanding in the Mediterranean. It is stated that Napoleon, on hearing that she intended quitting France, caused it to be signified to her, that he would be extremely glad to learn that she was gone either to England or Sicily, or, indeed, to any other European country; in fact, he considered her of no importance, and felt that her departure would save the 10 or 12,000*l.* yearly, which she cost the Government.

It is asserted, that Ferdinand invariably testified great aversion to the Cortes, and extreme repugnance to the English, notwithstanding their exertions in his favour, and that he frequently declared he should prefer remaining at Valençay to reigning in Spain with the Cortes, and that he never concealed his intention to re-establish all matters as they stood before the revolution, especially the *Inquisition*. Napoleon says that the Spanish nation will deplore for a length of time that the constitution of Bayonne was not successful; that, had it been so, they would have had no monks, no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, no archbishops enjoying millions of income; no privileged nunneries, no provincial custom-houses; no badly-administered and uncultivated national domains; they would have had a contented secular clergy, and nobles without feudal privileges and exemptions from taxes; that they would have been a regenerated people; that the change they would have experienced would have been more beneficial to them than the discovery of another Peru. "Instead of this," said he, "what have they got? A set of grossly ignorant monks, superstitious and rich! nobles grasping every thing! a people oppressed by the Inquisition, and brutalized by ignorance and feudal tyranny! But if the Bayonne constitution had triumphed, an enlightened people having shaken off the yoke of prejudice would have had less antipathy

to the English: whereas, now, the Inquisition, the monks, and superstition, fortify their antipathy every day; so that the English, instead of triumphing for themselves, have only completed the triumph of those who are their eternal enemies in Spain."

Having had a conversation with Bertrand concerning the Spanish colonies, I understood from him that Napoleon thought the emancipation of those colonies would be of the greatest advantage to England:—because as long as the principal policy of Spain is directed towards the preservation and administration of her American colonies, she will consider the power which rules the seas, her natural enemy, and will adhere to France, to counterbalance the maritime preponderance of England; but America once set free, the policy of Spain becomes purely continental, and consequently in rivalship with France, as the only power in contact with, and in opposition to her continental interests.

I have said above, that Napoleon would have suppressed the Inquisition in Spain.* I saw the chapter upon the subject of this diabolical tribunal, in the Campaigns of Italy, which treats of the negociations

* Ferdinand renounced the Crown of Spain on May 5th, 1808. Napoleon proclaimed his brother Joseph as King, and the six years' War of Liberation commenced. Meanwhile, Raimundo Elbenard, the head of the Supreme Court of the Inquisition, acknowledged Joseph Bonaparte and remained in Madrid under the protection of the French arms, but Napoleon removed the sting from this old-time tyranny. When Abate Marebana, a "heretic," returned to Madrid as Murat's secretary, the Inquisition arrested him. Murat sent a file of Grenadiers and forcibly released him ("A History of the Inquisition in Spain," by Henry Charles Lea, Vol. IV.). When Napoleon reached Madrid, December 4th, 1808, he issued a decree which suppressed the Inquisition and confiscated its property. The Inquisition was restored by Ferdinand in 1814, and the bigoted king, placed on the throne by English arms and English money, himself assumed the office of Grand Inquisitor in February, 1815, "when he visited the Suprema, presided over its deliberations, and participated in its decisions, examined all the offices, and expressed his royal satisfaction with the methods of procedure" (Lea, Vol. IV., 431).

which took place at Valentins in 1797, when Napoleon wanted to obtain from Pope Pius VI. the suppression of the Inquisition throughout Europe. In this chapter are three most curious letters from the Pontiff to Napoleon, in which he styles him "*his very dear son*;" and with *great earnestness* endeavours to persuade him "to abandon this fatal resolve; which would dishonour him, and render him a prey to remorse in his later years: that he himself would sooner part with a *province than permit any change in regard to the Inquisition:* that it had never really been that tyrannical and cruel institution which the enemies of the Holy See pretended it was, &c. &c." After having urged his demand for a long time, Napoleon yielded at last to the earnest entreaties of the *venerable* old man; and as the treaty imposed upon him was already sufficiently rigorous, gave up that point for the time.

In the course of a conversation I had the honour to hold with Napoleon, I thought I discovered his religious opinion to be extremely tolerant; he thinks that *faith* is beyond the reach of law; that it is the most sacred property of man, and one for which he has no right to account to any "*mortal*," if there is nothing in it contrary to social order.

I took an opportunity of speaking to some of his officers, concerning the famous Sanhedrin or Jewish council held in France, which had some years back excited the attention of all Europe; they had, however, no ideas about the matter; they said merely, that if any person knew what was likely to have taken place then, it would be Count Molé*; but, that they had their doubts whether even he knew any more than what

* Louis Matthew, Count Molé (1781–1855) was a great jurist of the Empire and the Restoration. He was born in Paris, lived in Switzerland during the Revolution, was made a Judge by Napoleon, and a Peer of France by Louis XVIII. In 1840 he was elected to the Academy. He retired into private life at the advent of the Second Empire.

Napoleon wanted to obtain in the first assembly of the Sanhedrin*; for that his constant method had been to first excite the public attention upon some object, but that his intentions were not known until the last moment, and sometimes not until several years after the first discussion of it.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

* The Sanhedrin in France. A full account of the French Sanhedrin is contained in "The Jewish Encyclopædia" (Funk and Wagnalls). Napoleon re-established this Council in Paris on February 9th, 1807. The very announcement that the Council was coming on was helpful to him, for when Napoleon invaded Poland a year earlier and the Jews rendered great services to his army, he remarked, laughing: "The Sanhedrin is at least useful to me." Representatives were called from all parts of Europe, the proclamation being written in Hebrew, French, German, and Italian. Seventy-one members assembled in a room in the Hotel de Ville. They were presided over by David Sinzheim, the Rabbi of Strasburg. The following nine decrees were established as laws. They were practically answers to questions put by Napoleon through Count Molé :—

(1) Polygamy is forbidden to the Israelites.

(2) Divorce by the Jewish law is valid only after previous decision of the civil authorities.

(3) The religious act of marriage must be preceded by a civil contract.

(4) Marriages contracted between Israelites and Christians are binding, although they cannot be celebrated with religious forms.

(5) Every Israelite is religiously bound to consider his non-Jewish fellow citizens as brothers, and to aid, protect, and love them as though they were co-religionists.

(6) The Israelite is required to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland, and shall love and defend it when called upon.

(7) Judaism does not forbid any kind of handicraft or occupation.

(8) It is commendable for Israelites to engage in agriculture, manual labour, and the arts, as their ancestors in Palestine were wont to do.

(9) Finally, Israelites are forbidden to exact usury from Jew or Christian.

From that time onwards, even with the Restoration and succeeding events, steady advances were made in France for the cause of freedom to the Jewish race.

LETTER IV

Cape of Good Hope.
5th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.,

In the fourth and fifth Letters, the Doctor confines himself almost exclusively to medical subjects: in this I shall not imitate him; but take up the pen with great pleasure, to give you some information respecting Josephine, whose eulogy Mr. Warden has pronounced with great justice. I will relate to you some untold particulars, which to me appear not without interest.

Josephine's divorce is the only one of a similar nature recorded in history; in as far as it did not produce any alteration in the sentiments which the parties entertained for each other, prior to it. It is represented as a painful sacrifice (in which both husband and wife participated) equally to the interests and policy of the state. In France, marriage was considered a sacrament, to dissolve which, the intervention of both civil and ecclesiastical authority was necessary. The civil authority competent to dissolve the marriage of the reigning family, was, according to the constitution of the country, the Senate. In an assembly of the family, both parties gave their consent to the dissolution of the marriage. Bertrand, who was present, describes this meeting, which was held in the state apartments of the Tuileries, as a very interesting and affecting scene, one that drew tears from the spectators. The consent having been authenticated by the Arch-chancellor,* the

* The Arch-chancellor was Cambacérès, and the "authentication" was before a family council, which included Madame Mère, Louis, Jerome,

dissolution of marriage was pronounced by the Senate; Josephine retired from the Tuileries to Malmaison, where the superb furniture appropriated to Napoleon's use in that small, but delightful abode, was allowed to remain. The estate of Navarre and a jointure of three millions of francs were settled upon her, which she employed chiefly in encouraging the arts and sciences,

Murat, Pauline and Caroline Bonaparte, and Josephine's children, Eugène and Hortense. Josephine read a speech, in which she said that :—

"With the permission of our august and dear spouse, I declare that, since I have no hope of bearing children who can satisfy the requirements of his policy and the interests of France, it is my pleasure to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which was ever given on earth."

At this point she broke down and handed the paper to Regnauld, who continued as follows :—

"I owe all to his bounty. It was his hand which crowned me; and, seated on this throne, I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I am recognising all this, I believe, in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which is now an obstacle to the welfare of France and deprives her of the good fortune of being ruled one day by the descendants of a great man plainly raised up by Providence to remove the ill effects of a terrible Revolution, and to set up again the altar, the throne, and the social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will make no change in the sentiments of my heart. The Emperor will always have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, which is made necessary by his policy and by such great interests, has wounded his heart; but we shall win glory, the two of us, for the sacrifice which we have made on behalf of our country."

The three or four visits to which Napoleon refers commenced with one on the day after her arrival at Malmaison. Then she went to the estate at Navarre, where Napoleon was anxious that she should remain while his marriage with Marie Louise was being arranged—a marriage, by the way, which some have claimed was first suggested by Josephine. The Emperor visited her again at Malmaison on May 13th, 1809. His marriage with Marie Louise had taken place in the previous March. It is not surprising to learn that the new Empress was jealous of the old one. Immediately on the birth of the little King of Rome, Napoleon wrote to Josephine announcing the event. The postmaster, who has given an account of the affair, relates that at first Josephine frowned, but that she recovered her usual gracious manner, and then said to him :—

"The Emperor cannot doubt the lively interest which I take in an event which crowns his joy. He knows that I cannot separate myself from his destiny, and that his happiness will always make me happy."

The third interview took place just before the Russian Campaign in the spring of 1812. On this occasion a meeting took place by arrangement at a place called Bagatelle. The object of the meeting was to show Josephine the little King of Rome. The dethroned Empress wept over the child and loaded him with kisses.

and in relieving the wants of the distressed. Malmaison is situated about three leagues from Paris and one from St. Cloud. It became her constant residence; but during the space of five years she only received three or four visits from her former consort, though the courtiers continued to pay their respects regularly. Frequent visits were also paid to her by the Princes of the House of Austria, when the allied Princes came to Paris. It is asserted that no alteration whatsoever of affection was produced by the divorce, either in Eugène her son, or Hortense her daughter, or in Napoleon towards them. Eugène, viceroy of Italy, had been adopted by Napoleon as his successor to the throne of Italy, in default of heirs male of his body. He was considered as a prince of the blood of Italy, and had an assignment on the Italian funds of more than a million sterling. He married, in 1806, the daughter of the King of Bavaria, who was esteemed the most beautiful and graceful Princess in any of the reigning families.* Stéphanie

* Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824), Duke of Leuchtenberg and Prince of Eichstädt, was Napoleon's stepson, being the child of Josephine by her first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais. He was aide-de-camp of Bonaparte during the Egyptian campaign, when he covered himself with glory. He won further laurels at Marengo, after which he became a general of brigade. On the establishment of the Empire he was made a Prince, and in 1805 Vice-king of Italy. His sojourn in that country was crowned by brilliant achievements in the paths of peace. He proved himself a splendid administrator. In 1806 he was married to the Princess Augusta Amelia, daughter of the King of Bavaria; and Napoleon declared him to be his adopted son and the inheritor of the throne of Italy. He behaved with great dignity and tact when Napoleon divorced Josephine, and he accompanied the Emperor in the expedition to Russia. He fought later at the battle of Leipzig, and drew from Napoleon the imperishable compliment, "We have all committed faults—all except Eugène." When the Empire fell Prince Eugène refused to separate his lot from that of his adopted father, and retired into Bavaria. He died at Munich of an attack of apoplexy. His "Memoirs and Correspondence" extends to ten volumes. His children married into Royal houses, one becoming Queen of Portugal. Eugène was by far the most loyal of all Napoleon's generals and the most lovable.

Beauharnais,* Josephine's cousin, was married to the Grand Duke of Baden, brother-in-law to the Emperor of Russia, the King of Bavaria, and the King of Sweden. She has had several children, and still reigns at Carlsruhe. This Princess's mother was extremely intimate with Lady McCarthy, to whom in dying she intrusted the care of her daughter: and her Ladyship accordingly directed, though in London, her education. Her guardianship and superintendence ceased in 1800, when the child, aged seven years, was presented by his wife to Napoleon, who took upon himself the office of guardian and the charge of her education; for this she was ever after extremely grateful, and entertained the affection of a daughter towards him. She is represented as handsome, witty, and endowed with every quality requisite to render her an honour to her sex; and is said to be greatly beloved at Mannheim, and throughout the duchy of Baden. Another of Josephine's cousins was married to the Prince d'Aremberg,† the first family in Flanders, and a sovereign prince. It appears that this marriage has not turned out so happily as the other, through the fault of the Princess herself. The Prince d'Aremberg commanded a regiment of lancers, and distinguished

* Stéphanie de Beauharnais (1789–1860) was the grand-daughter of the famous "Fanny" (1738–1813), who wrote plays, novels, and poems, Her father was Claude de Beauharnais, who neglected her, and she was brought up by an Englishman residing in Paris. "Fanny," however, once sent her grand-daughter to Napoleon with one of her poems—an ode on his victories. He admired the little Stéphanie and adopted her as his daughter, giving her rank as a princess. In 1806 she was married to the Electoral Prince of Baden, who was brother of the Empress of Russia. There is a lively account of the early married life of the young couple in Joseph Turguen's "Une Fille Adoptive de Napoléon." See also Madame de Rémusat's "Mémoires."

† Prosper Ludwig, Prince d'Aremberg (1785–1861), served in the French Army, and was captured by the English in the Peninsular war, becoming a prisoner in England from 1811 to 1814. His marriage with Princess Stéphanie Tascher de la Pagére, a niece of Josephine, took place in 1808, but was annulled in 1816.

himself much in the Peninsular war, where he was made a prisoner by our troops, and remained as such a considerable time in England. Napoleon is said to have attached a great importance to this marriage, and to have intended to have caused the Prince to reside with his consort at Brussels, in quality of Governor General of the Low Countries; and, by establishing a court at Brussels, to have evinced the interest he took in Belgium: for this purpose he purchased the château de Laken of the Prince of Saxe Teschen, and caused it to be furnished superbly.* Another cousin of Josephine's was married to a niece to the Prince Primate of Germany, one of the most illustrious houses of the empire; and I have been credibly informed that one of these cousins was asked in marriage by Ferdinand the Seventh in 1807, and this would have taken place, if, unluckily for Buonaparte, he had not adopted, at Bayonne, another line of politics (suggested to him by Talleyrand), and from which we may date the origin of his downfall.—But I find that I have wandered too far from my original intention, which was, to relate to you what I have heard respecting this famous divorce. The civil contract having been (as I said above) annulled by the decision of the Senate, the religious contract still remained. The consistory of Paris, according to the rites of the Catholic religion, pronounced its dissolution. There was some pretension on the part of the court of Rome, to be made acquainted with what was going on; but the French bishops declared, that it was contrary to the privileges of the Gallic church, and that a sovereign in the eyes of God was no more than another man, and must submit to

* Albut, Prince of Saxe Teschen (1738–1822), was a son of Augustus III., King of Poland, and was the husband of Christine, a sister of Marie Antoinette. He was Governor of the Netherlands during the French Revolution, and hence his possession of the Palace of Laken. He retired into Austria and cultivated the arts during the Napoleonic epoch.

the same jurisdiction. This question was also decided upon by the ecclesiastical court at Vienna, previous to the celebration of the marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise, and this court was obliged to acknowledge the validity of the first dissolution. Nevertheless, this gave rise to some incidents, which I will relate in another place. It was acknowledged in 1810.

The French Ruler's divorce made a great noise throughout Europe. His alliance, then the first in the world, was the object of the ambition of most of the reigning houses. Three Princesses naturally presented themselves; one in Russia, one in Austria, and one in Saxony. I have been assured, from unquestionable authority, that engagements had been first made with a Russian Princess, and that proposals were opened by Alexander himself at Erfurt; that those who had been implicated in the French Revolution, and were then about the throne, dreaded an Austrian, and preferred a Russian or Saxon Princess; and also, that this appeared to be the inclination and desire of Napoleon himself; but that the Russian Princess was extremely young; and some difficulties in respect to her religion caused delays in the negociations, of which Austria took advantage. As soon as it was known at Vienna that Napoleon's hand was at liberty, the Emperor of Austria sent for Count Narbonne,* at that time at Vienna; who was governor of Trieste, and well known to enjoy the confidence of his master. Francis condescended to discourse with considerable interest about the news which then occupied every body's attention; and on his going out, Count Metternich, the Grand Chamber-

* Count Louis de Narbonne (1755–1813), was a French general and diplomatist. Accompanied King Louis XVI.'s aunts to Rome during the Revolution, spent two succeeding years in exile, and returned to serve under Napoleon in 1800. Was governor of Trieste for a time, and then Minister to the Court of Bavaria. He made the Russian Campaign as Napoleon's aide-de-camp, and was Ambassador to Vienna in 1813.

lain, as well as several other great personages, spoke of the desire the House of Austria entertained, that the choice should fall upon the Archduchess Marie Louise, who being of the same religion and nineteen years of age, appeared well calculated to fulfil the views of France. "In this case," said the Austrian politicians, "we shall be able to ascertain the intentions of the French Government. If a Princess is not chosen out of some of the reigning families, it will be evident, that the intention is to overturn them all." Immediately afterwards, Count Narbonne dispatched an extraordinary courier to Paris, with an account of every thing that had taken place; and Prince Schwartzenberg,* Ambassador at Paris, received instructions from his court concerning the affair. The King of Bavaria was just then at Paris; and openly declared his wish, that the alliance with Austria should be preferred; this he communicated to his son-in-law Prince Eugène, who, in the last council held upon the subject, insisted strongly upon the necessity of the alliance with Austria, as being likely to have much more influence upon the minds of the Italians, Belgians, Bavarians, and Germans, than any other. Some were not wanting who were desirous that Napoleon should espouse a Frenchwoman, and it had even been said that the arguments they made use of were so powerful, as to turn the scale *for a moment*. However this may be, all the politicians in France agreed, that, considering the state of grandeur and prosperity in which the country then was, the first object was an heir

* Charles Philip, Prince of Schwartzenberg (1771–1820), an Austrian Field-Marshal, born at Vienna. Was Ambassador to Russia in 1809. He negotiated the marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise while Austrian Ambassador to France, and in a letter to Metternich, the Austrian Minister, describes his anxieties over Napoleon's precipitous wooing. He commanded the Austrian Army during the Russian Campaign in 1812. After the defection of Austria from Napoleon he led the army of the Coalition to Paris.

to the throne; and I have been assured, that an extraordinary council was held, where, after long discussions, during which a Russian, Austrian, and Saxon Princess, and even a Frenchwoman, had their several partisans; three fourths of the votes were in favour of an Austrian Princess; and at two o'clock in the morning, Prince Eugène was commissioned to see Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was authorized to conclude with that Ambassador, the contract of marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, taking as a model that of Louis XVI. with Marie Antoinette; so that this negociation was begun and terminated the same day. These, then, are particulars, I believe not known, which I have been able to collect concerning this great alliance.

With respect to what I have heard before, and believed, *viz.* that it had been *decided* at Vienna, when the treaty of peace had been concluded, I have been assured that I was under a great mistake, and that Napoleon was of a temper to spurn at the idea of his alliance being made *one of the conditions of peace.*

It appears that he is greatly attached to Marie Louise, and that he had the utmost confidence in her. She is represented as a young Princess, irreproachable in her conduct, modest and religious, as well as a fine woman. On her way to Paris, Napoleon went to receive her at Compiegne. The *civil* ceremony was performed at St. Cloud, and the spiritual in the great hall of the Museum Napoleon. After having assisted at the civil function at St. Cloud, five or six Cardinals declared that they could not assist at the spiritual, from respect, as they alleged, for the Holy See, which ought, they said, to interfere in the marriage of sovereigns. The French Bishops, however, and the majority of the Cardinals, repelled with indignation the pretension; and it is said, the Pope himself blamed the Cardinals, who were exiled from Paris, and called "Black Cardinals." The

union of all the beauty of Europe; (with the exception of our own lovely countrywomen)* of the Courts of the Queen of Naples, the Queen of Westphalia, the Vice-Queen of Italy, and of France, with all the principal ladies of Belgium, Holland, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome; of the Bishops and nearly all of the Cardinals—formed an assemblage that has no parallel on record. The Emperor of Austria was represented in it by his brother the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, formerly Grand Duke of Tuscany. You need not wonder at my being so well acquainted with the particulars; our exiles took a pleasure in relating them, by way of consolation in the position in which they are now placed.

The Court of Paris, and the city, gave splendid fêtes —Schwartzenberg gave one in honour of his master. For this purpose, he caused a sort of hall to be constructed in the garden of his hotel. In the midst of the festival, the curtains took fire, and in a moment the whole room was in flames. Napoleon, taking his wife in his arms, retired with Prince Schwartzenberg, to a short distance. Marie Louise returned to St. Cloud, and Napoleon remained in the garden until morning. The building was entirely consumed, and the Princess Schwartzenberg, who had previously effected her escape from the hall, uneasy about one of her children, had entered again, when, in endeavouring to return by a little door, which led to the interior of the hotel she was suffocated, and nearly consumed by the flames. Great concern and uneasiness was manifested during the night about her fate, when, in the morning, her remains were discovered. Prince Kourakin,† the Russian

* That is the English. The pleasant fiction is maintained throughout that the writer of these letters was an Englishman.

† Prince Alexander Borisovitch Kourakin (1752–1818) was the school companion of Paul I. of Russia, and became his Minister, a post he continued to occupy under Alexander I. He directed the negotiations of the Peace of Tilsit, and was Russian Ambassador to France from 1808 to 1812.

ambassador, was also severely burnt, and about twenty ladies and gentlemen fell victims to this shocking accident. All those, who in 1771 had witnessed the festivals given on the occasion of the marriage between Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, were reminded of the catastrophe which took place in the Champs Élysées, where near two thousand persons perished; and drew a melancholy omen from the present occasion.

The Revolution, which destroyed the throne of Louis, and brought him to the scaffold, arose principally out of the rebellion of Paris; and it was at the festival given by that city, that the above fatal event took place.

The change of politics in Austria at Dresden was, without doubt, the principal cause of Napoleon's misfortunes, and consequent ruin; and it was at the fête given by the ambassador of that power that a similar disastrous and fatal omen presented itself.

Although Napoleon is said not to be superstitious, he was affected by it; and long after, on the morning before the battle of Dresden, when he was informed that Prince Schwartzenberg had been killed, he said, "That was a brave man, but nevertheless, there is something consoling in his death. It was against *him*, then, that the fatal omen which occurred at his ball on the marriage day was directed—*We* are clear of it." Two hours later he was informed that there had been a mistake, and that Moreau, not Schwartzenberg, had been killed.

The impression upon his mind was said to have been effaced by his journey to Belgium, and by the birth of his son, some months after, on the 20th of March 1811. One hundred pieces of cannon were to have been fired, if a male was born; and only twenty-five, if a female. It is said that the attention of every body was occupied in counting the number of guns discharged, and that, at the twenty-sixth, there was a general cry of joy, and

all Paris, as by one spontaneous movement, flocked to the Carrousel and the garden of the Tuileries. *All the Sovereigns of Europe* (except our own) *sent ambassadors extraordinary to compliment the French Court on the occasion.* The Emperor of Russia sent Prince Kourakin, his Minister of the Interior; the Emperor of Austria, Prince Clasy, with all his orders enriched with the most valuable diamonds to decorate the young Prince. A few months after his birth, the French rulers made a party to Cherbourg, to see the celebrated works going on in that harbour, and afterwards to Holland, where their entry was extremely brilliant.

I have frequently heard the Princess Charlotte of England, eldest sister of the Regent, Queen of Würtemberg,* spoken of in terms of high praise, by the Longwood French. She is represented as a person of the greatest sweetness and goodness, and as deserving of the highest applause, for having borne with so much temper and resignation the treatment she experienced. In marching upon Ulm in 1805, Napoleon entered at the head of his army into Stuttgart, the Court of which was then employed in celebrating the marriage of Prince Paul, the King's son, with a Princess of Saxony. The Queen, being an English Princess, experienced at first some embarrassment, which Napoleon quickly perceived, and as soon dissipated, by evincing his anxiety to please her, and by his assiduity in paying his court to her, which changed the first embarrassments, caused by prejudice, into a pleasant intercourse. Afterwards, Napoleon often stopped for some time at Stuttgart, and invariably manifested the same sentiments and

* Princess Charlotte Augusta Matilda (1766–1828) was the eldest daughter of George III., and was born on September 29th; hence her mother, Queen Charlotte, called her a "Michaelmas goose." She married the Crown Prince of Würtemberg in 1797, and he became King the same year. By favour of Napoleon he continued on the throne after the Emperor had conquered Prussia.

the same attentions to the English Princess. It was she who made the marriage of the Princess Catherine,* daughter of the King of Würtemberg, by his first wife, with Prince Jerome (afterwards King of Westphalia), a marriage which connected Napoleon's family with that of Brunswick, and founded a new alliance with that of Russia. The Princess Catherine has had several children, and is said to be greatly attached to her husband: "So that you see," said Madame Bertrand, "Napoleon's family is related to all the reigning families in Europe, even to that of Prussia, for some time back a niece of Murat's married a Prince of Hohenzollern."†

Young Napoleon, who, from his tender age, has excited so much the attention of nations, now six years old, is stated to be a child particularly endowed by nature, both with beauty, amiable disposition, and powers of intellect. Grandson of the Emperor of Austria, great-grandson of Ferdinand of Naples, consequently descended from both the Houses of Lorraine and Bourbon; it is confidently believed, that he would

* Catherine of Würtemberg, the second wife of Napoleon's brother Jerome, King of Westphalia, was a step-daughter of the Princess Charlotte, daughter of George III. Thus Napoleon's sister-in-law was the grand-daughter of England's king. The marriage took place at the Tuileries in 1807. She was happy with Jerome, in spite of his many deficiencies as a husband and as a prince, and when the crash came in 1814, she refused to leave him as the price of a return to her father's Court. After Waterloo the pair lived for a time at Göttingen, and they assumed the titles of Comte and Comtesse de Montfort. Catherine, it may be added, appealed to her cousin, the Prince Regent, to be permitted to go to St. Helena to soothe the last days of the Emperor. She died at Lausanne in 1834. De Nervins suggests that history might have taken another aspect had Napoleon married Catherine instead of Marie Louise and left Jerome with his American wife.

† The consequences were interesting. They cost Napoleon III. his throne. It was the offer of the crown of Spain to Leopold von Hohenzollern that made the war between France and Germany in 1870. Princess Caroline Murat tells us in her "Memoirs" (edited by Robert Leighton) that when the German armies occupied Paris in 1870 she successfully appealed to her cousin Leopold for protection.



EMMANUEL DE LAS CASES

The Author of "The Memorial of St. Helena."



SIR HUDSON LOWE

The Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon.



THEODORE HOOK

As he was when he wrote his Reply to "Letters from the Cape."



THEODORE HOOK

In later years when the author of many popular works.

PROMINENT MEN IN "NAPOLEON IN HIS OWN DEFENCE."

hereafter be the object of hopes both to the French and Italian nations, even if he had not a lawful title to the imperial inheritance, transferred to him by his father, in virtue of the power vested in him by the constitution.

One cannot help reflecting with surprise, that Napoleon's child is great-grandson of that Caroline Queen of Naples, who had been the mortal enemy of every thing French*; although I have heard some assert, that latterly, when Caroline was at Vienna, she took a peculiar pleasure in caressing young Napoleon, and in consoling and counselling her grand-daughter Marie Louise.

Computing one day with Madame Bertrand, the alliances which Napoleon's family had formed with the sovereigns of Europe, she said, "there were now living young Napoleon; a son and three daughters of Prince Eugène by the Princess of Bavaria; a son and daughter by the Princess of Baden by the Grand Duke; two sons of Jerome by the Princess of Würtemberg, and several by Prince Hohenzollern."

I have the honour, &c. &c.

* Marie Caroline, Queen of Naples (1752–1814), was the daughter of Marie Thérèse and sister of Marie Antoinette. She married, in 1768, Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies. This was the friend of Lady Hamilton who played so great a part in Lord Nelson's life. She ultimately quarrelled with the British Minister, Lord Bentinck, and died in Vienna.

LETTER V

Cape of Good Hope,
8th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

Behold us, at St. Helena*; consequently, I have not had so many opportunities of seeing Napoleon; nevertheless, during October and November, I saw the French exiles almost daily. It was at first expected that they would have been lodged at the Plantation-house, a very handsome country residence, built by the Company for the Governor, and which may be compared to a house of the second rate in England. Attached to it, there is a good garden, plenty of water and shade (in a tropical climate, indispensable necessaries to comfort and even to existence,) and fragrant plants of India flourish by the side of beautiful oaks. Independent of this mansion, the Governor had a very good house in the town, which he might have occupied; and which arrangement would have caused but very little expence to government. Longwood was then occupied by the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Skelton,† Mrs.

* It will be seen that, while the title "Letters from the Cape" was given to these Letters, to distinguish them from Warden's book, "Letters from St. Helena," the fiction that they were sent from the Cape is now abandoned, although each letter is headed as if from the Cape. In Volume xxxi. of "Correspondance de Napoléon Premier" we find this book reprinted as "Lettres du Cap de Bonne-Espérance," but the writers of the "Correspondance" made their translation from the English version, as has already been stated.

† Colonel Skelton is referred to in Brooke's "History of St. Helena" (2nd Edition, 1824, page 377) as Colonel J. Skelton, who succeeded Lieutenant-Governor Broughton in that office on June 22nd, 1813, when Colonel Mark Wilks succeeded Beatson as Governor of St. Helena. Colonel

Skelton and their family, the removal of whom consumed several days. It was originally an old extremely ill-built barn, belonging to the Company. Sir George Cockburn, with that alacrity and activity which distinguish him, employed the sailors in carrying wood and other materials, and his carpenters in constructing some new apartments (chiefly of wood) and in rendering those already built, habitable. This was necessarily the occasion of considerable expence in such a place as St. Helena, and those who were well acquainted with the island predicted that Napoleon would be after all very badly accommodated; as there were neither water or trees except of one miserable species near the house; and also, because a constantly raging wind prevails there, that parches up the ground, and blights vegetation in such a manner that a kitchen garden could never be established in it. Whilst this abode was preparing, Napoleon remained at the Briars, a small pavilion, consisting of a chamber of about fifteen or seventeen feet in length, in which was placed his camp-bed, and there also he wrote, ate, and slept; a small

Skelton was the last holder of the office, which was abolished on January 16th, 1816, and his residence, Longwood, was assigned to Napoleon. Napoleon visited Longwood the morning after his arrival, and breakfasted with Colonel and Mrs. Skelton; but he did not enter into permanent occupation until two months later, having asked to be accommodated at The Briars, which house he had admired on his way out from Jamestown. Colonel Skelton visited him at The Briars on November 18th, 1815, and Napoleon went again to look at Deadwood with the Colonel on December 31st. Napoleon took possession of Longwood on January 1st, 1816.

"In 1889," writes Mr. Frank Schloesser to *Notes and Queries* (July 30th, 1910), "I happened to be at Potchefstroom in the Transvaal. I was there presented to an old lady of ninety years, a Mrs. Alexander, widow of a General Alexander. She was born (so I was told) at St. Helena, the daughter of an officer named Skelton. She told me that she remembered Napoleon, and that when she was a girl he had often talked to her in a mixture of French and English. Mrs. Alexander died several years ago, but her grandchildren are still, I believe, to be heard of at Langlaagte and other villages outside Johannesburg."

adjoining antechamber, and above a garret in which Las Cases and his son were lodged. Count Bertrand, his lady, and children, Count and Madame Montholon, and child, with General Gourgaud, were placed at a boarding-house in Jamestown, from whence they went to visit Napoleon by turns. The Briars is about a mile and a half distant from the town, and for the last part of the way is a pleasant walk. About fifty paces from the pavilion is the house inhabited by the proprietor, a merchant of the name of Balcombe. Behind it is a well cultivated garden, and the whole of this plantation may contain about one hundred acres. Mr. Balcombe is an Englishman, who has been established for several years in the island, and whose family consists of a wife and two daughters, one about fourteen, the other fifteen years of age, both of whom arrived a few months before from England, where they had been at a boarding-school, and had learned to speak tolerable French. These are the young women of whom so many unfounded stories and absurdities have been told to deceive the public, and concerning whom so many trumpery anecdotes have been fabricated.* I was several times at the Briars, and had an opportunity of knowing that Napoleon lived nearly as he had done on ship board. He rarely stirred out of his apartment before four o'clock, from thence he went into the garden, or walked for an hour or two on the lawn before the house, where the two young ladies I have mentioned and their mother frequently came to walk with him. After some conversation with them he returned to his room to dinner. After dinner, he often paid a visit to this family and

* The story of the elder girl, Betsy Balcombe, is well known. As Mrs. Abell, she wrote her reminiscences under the title of "Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon" in 1844, and they were reprinted, with an account of her later life, by her daughter in 1873. See "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers."

played a game at whist. During the two months he was at the Briars, he never quitted it except once, to call on Major Hudson, who with his family inhabited a small house at the foot of the hill, which, from its little garden, afforded a very pleasant prospect. During this excursion, he remained about an hour in conversation with Major Hudson, his wife, and beautiful children. While at the Briars, I do not think that he had more than one interview with the admiral. It seems very likely that he was surprised to find himself so indifferently lodged; and probably learned from the inhabitants, that he might have been much better provided in other places. He did not, however, suffer a single word of complaint to escape him. On board the *Northumberland* our exiles had no altercation with the admiral; but no sooner had they set foot on shore than a change took place, possibly from discontent at being sent to so miserable a place as St. Helena, devoid of every comfort.

It is said, that the admiral, who gave several balls, at which the rest of the French were present, once sent a card of invitation for Napoleon by Count Bertrand, to which no answer was returned, as the card was directed to General Buonaparte. It was whispered at the time, though I do not believe it ever came to the admiral's ears, that he answered to Bertrand—"Send this card to General Buonaparte: the last news I heard of him was at the battle of the Pyramids and Mount Tabor." At these balls the elegance of the dresses of the French ladies was very conspicuous, and drew the attention of all the officers' wives.

About the middle of December, Longwood, having undergone such improvements as it was susceptible of, the removal to it took place, and appeared to gratify the French, who experienced some satisfaction at being

assembled together once more. Fourteen or fifteen days afterwards I went to see them, and found them only tolerably off in point of accommodation. Count Bertrand and his lady were living about a mile from Longwood, in a small cottage with two small rooms, and two garrets, but without garden or shade. It must at the same time be admitted that it was the only one in the neighbourhood which could be had for them, and was taken at their own request. Workmen were constantly employed at Longwood in building them a house about fifty yards from the principal one. Count Las Cases and General Gourgaud, were lodged in small houses, principally of wood, and covered according to the custom of the island with pitched paper. Napoleon had, I believe, four rooms to himself. A warm bath was also set up for him, a luxury unknown in this wretched island. Longwood, although among the most unpleasant spots on it, enjoys one great advantage, viz. that of standing on a level of about four or five miles in circumference.

The climate of St. Helena is the most extraordinary perhaps in the world: being at the same time both colder and hotter than any other in such latitudes. At Longwood, a fire is found comfortable for six months in the year: few days are without rain, and it is frequently enveloped in fog, while a ride of two or three miles brings you into the burning heat of the torrid zone. The humidity of the place also gives rise to dysenteries, which make frequent ravages; the inhabitants in general are poor, badly fed, and ignorant. Salt meat forms a principal share of their diet; and their seclusion from the rest of the world, renders them unacquainted with every thing except the sailing of the China or India fleets, matters of great importance to them, their principal employment being to enhance, by combinations and otherwise, the price of their fowls,

vegetables, and other articles, which they know to be indispensable to the ships, to double or treble their original value, the moment a fleet arrives. Without this traffic, the island would be a desert. This, however, has rendered it a rendezvous for ships; and a week seldom elapses without some homeward-bound India-man touching for water; but outward-bound ships hardly ever drop in. It is supplied with news chiefly from the Cape or by the store ships, sent once a year from England, by the Company, to provision this little colony.

Notwithstanding the inconveniences of Longwood, Napoleon was better off than at the Briars, as on leaving his apartment, he could take a drive in his carriage, for a mile or more round a little wood of gum-trees, or mount on horseback, and descend from the mountains down the precipices, and make a circuit of about four or five miles by skirting a valley called by the French the Valley of Silence (la Vallée du Silence) in which they noticed a pretty young lady of about sixteen or seventeen years of age, whom they good-humouredly styled "The nymph of the valley." As Napoleon passed her small habitation, this young lady courtseyed to him, and he, without alighting from his horse, addressed a few words of broken English to her. This is what has furnished Mr. Warden's story of Miss Robinson.* Napoleon dined with his officers and the ladies about eight, or half-past eight o'clock. Colonel and Mrs. Skelton, the former inhabitants of Longwood, frequently visited and dined with him, and he appeared pleased with the society of Mrs. Skelton, who had been educated in France, and spoke French extremely well. He was also visited at Longwood by the officers of the 53rd

* Miss Robinson's story is told in "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers" (page 226).

regiment, who were highly pleased with the reception he gave them.

There was no guard at Longwood, except at the entrance, where about thirty soldiers were posted. No visitors could enter without the permission of the admiral, the governor, or Sir George Bingham, or of General Bertrand, if they were invited by the French. With respect to strangers, the same system took place; they were referred to Count Bertrand, by whom they were informed of the hour and the day they could be received by his master. which was generally a day or two after their application. His pass was sufficient to admit them, and during the time they remained in the island, they could, with this pass, continue to pay their respects at Longwood. Matters had been so contrived by the admiral, who was previously acquainted with all who procured them, that this could be productive of no inconvenience, and consequently the arrangements answered very well, and were satisfactory to *all* parties. Picquets were also placed in different directions upon the surrounding mountains, in such a manner that the exiles could take a walk of five or six miles within the limits without being accompanied. If, however, they were desirous of going beyond these boundaries, it was necessary for them to be accompanied by an English officer, in a similar manner as when they went to town: few, except Madame Bertrand, Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, availed themselves of the permission of going to town in such a manner. As for Napoleon, he was heard to declare, that he would not, of his free will, do any thing, (if he could avoid it) which would establish an acknowledgment on his part of any *right* which our government had over him. The others were desirous of being allowed the range of the whole island, excepting the town and the sea-coast,

alledging, that it was extremely easy to guard so small an island by placing fourteen or fifteen picquets of eighteen or twenty men each, sufficiently near to communicate with each other, in a few minutes, upon the borders of the sea, which were besides well guarded by our cruizers.

European news of December, January, and February arrived. The fate of Murat was made known to Napoleon, who merely said: "The Calabrians are more humane than the English ministry. When it is wished to get rid of a man, a bullet is the most humane and noble means of doing so." This saying got speedily abroad, and produced considerable emotion. He was greatly surprized at the trial of Ney,* and said he could not conceive how the allies could violate so barefacedly the capitulation of Paris; he held the breach of that treaty as upon a footing with those of Dantzic and Dresden; he observed, that the Parisian lawyers had in general displayed but little talent and less courage in behalf of their clients; that Cambronne† was the person who had manifested most honour in his defence. He also observed, that it was difficult to conceive how the Duke of Otranto,‡ who was Minister of Police under him, could have signed the act of proscription. How the names of Bertrand, Cambronne, and Drouet, who had never served under the Bourbons, who had left France, who had never borne their commission, and who had

* Joachim Murat, ex-King of Naples, was shot at Pizzo by order of King Ferdinand on October 13th, 1815. Michel Ney, Duke of Elchingen, was shot on December 7th, 1815.

† Pierre Jacques Étienne Cambronne (1770–1842) fought under Lazare Hoche and Masséna, and specially distinguished himself at the battle of Jena. He is made responsible for the mythical utterance at Waterloo, "The Guard dies, but never surrenders." He was a prisoner in England, was then put on his trial in France, and acquitted. He died at Nantes in 1842, and a statue was erected to him here in 1848.

‡ The Duke of Otranto—that is, Fouché.

never ceased to be under his command, could have been included in it. "These men," said he, "whose character and fidelity merited the highest approbation, were condemned by generals who had taken the oath to the king, who had received the cross of St. Louis from his hands, who had worn his cockade, sworn obedience to him, and a few days afterwards, had again mounted the tri-colour cockade, trampled under foot the white, thrown away the cross of St. Louis with disdain, and made war upon Louis the XVIIIth." He also observed of the sentences, "that laws had been applied to the prisoners that had been decreed by the *republic and the fourth dynasty against the Bourbons*, and for the maintenance of *that republic* and the *imperial dynasty*." —"Is it possible," said he, "to conceive such a state of affairs? It is by virtue of a law made against the Bourbons by an usurped government, during the time that the *legitimate* government resided at Mittau and London, that the same LEGITIMATE government now causes people to be executed! How can you reconcile the *nineteenth* year of the reign of Louis the XVIIIth, with the putting in force laws made by a rebellious republic, and an usurping government! The men," continued he, "who at Waterloo, defended the nation against combined Europe, are condemned, and the faithful subjects are they who fought against their country, like General Bourmont,* who unfurled the tri-color flag with Ney, on the 17th March, and afterwards came to Paris to take the oath of fidelity to me, was employed in his rank of general of division, for three months was chief of the staff at Metz, under the orders of Gerard,

* Louis Auguste Victor Bourmont (1773–1846) was at first an opponent of Napoleon and then became reconciled, entered the Imperial Army, and distinguished himself in the Russian campaign. He abandoned Napoleon as here described. An exile at the Revolution of 1830, he took part in the Duchess de Berry's quixotic expedition of 1832. He returned to France in 1840, and died at his castle near Nantes.

and on the 14th, and two days before the battle of Waterloo, deserted with two officers of his staff, and went over to the enemy—this Bourmont, who bore witness against Ney, *he* is the good Frenchman; *he* is the man who has fought for his country! Never yet," continued he, "was human reason treated with such gross contempt. Louis the XVIIIth is the *ally* of the coalesced powers, and signs a treaty with them against France. Nevertheless a treaty of peace is concluded by them with *him*. It is the first time that ever a treaty of peace has been concluded with an *ally!* By this very *treaty of peace* his *good allies* have imposed upon his subjects a contribution of seven hundred millions! All the proclamations and all the promises made by the allies, of not intending to impose any government upon France, and of waging war solely against *me*, were disregarded as soon as they entered Paris, and had succeeded in disbanding the army of France."

One of the sentences was afterwards pointed out to me as having been put in execution, in virtue of a law passed during Robespierre's rule, a very few days after the decree of the Convention which caused Louis XVIth to die on a scaffold! I must confess I was confounded at seeing all principle defied in this manner, and could not refute the conclusions which were made, viz. "That men so condemned were assassinated—that so many contradictions and absurdities had never before been jumbled together—that a king calling himself *legitimate*, by thus putting in force, laws made by a government *he* designated as *usurped*, protested *himself* against his own legitimacy, and proclaimed to the world the legitimacy of that government he contended was an usurpation!"

I have the honour, &c. &c.

LETTER VI

Cape of Good Hope,
13th of May 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

The discussion on the most interesting part of the little work begins here.—In the 7th Letter, the Doctor represents Napoleon as addressing a long harangue to him, respecting the conspiracy which took place in 1804;—the suicides of Pichegru, and Captain Wright; the execution of the Duke d'Enghien; and the events which took place at Jaffa, during the campaign of 1799.*—It is to be lamented that our countryman did not follow the example of a Livy, or a Thucydides, who, when they put words into the mouths of any of their heroes, invariably took care to make them speak conformably to their situation and character, as also in regard to probability.

The object of the conspiracy of 1804, planned in London, by the Count d'Artois, and of which Georges, Moreau, and Pichegru were to have been the executors in Paris, was, according to Napoleon, the "assassination of the first consul, and the re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty;" both of which failed, and the French nation raised the Imperial throne to place him on it.—During the time I was in France, I made many enquiries respecting this interesting epoch. The result of which was, a conviction of the falsehood of our information upon the events relating to it; and after my arrival

* All these controversial points are dealt with in the notes to Warden's "Letters from St. Helena" (*see* "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers").

at St. Helena, I had an opportunity of extracting some valuable notes from a manuscript lent to me by Count de las Cases, containing the history of 1804—a work of more than common interest, and which was in my possession for some time.

The peace of Amiens did not last more than eighteen months. In March 1803, the speech from the throne announced the commencement of a new war, and scarcely had the sanguinary career opened, when the French government manifested an intention to carry the scene of action into the bosom of Old England. In 1803 and 1804 numerous camps covered the shores of Boulogne, Dunkirk, and Ostend, and formidable squadrons were getting ready at Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon. All the dock yards on the sea-coasts and rivers of France were covered with praams, gun-boats, and transports, small and large craft; and thousands of hands were employed, in forming small harbours along the channel, to receive the numerous flotilla destined for the attack. In England, the whole population flew to arms. Pitt himself abandoned the peaceful labours of the exchequer, clothed himself in uniform, girded on the sword, and dreamed of nothing but instruments of war, battalions, and batteries! We saw our revered and venerable King quit his palace, and pass a considerable time in the midst of his troops; and camps, as numerous as those of the French, were formed in Kent and Sussex, near Dover and Deal. The rival armies silently contemplated each other, and were only separated by the narrow channel covered with our ships.

The English ministry (according to the manuscript, from which the whole of what follows is taken) left no means unemployed to awaken the continental powers, but Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Spain, were either allies of or friendly to France, which power nearly all Europe obeyed. Equally unsuccessful were their efforts

in attempting to rekindle the war in La Vendée, which had before rendered them such essential service: the spirit of the west of France had experienced a thorough change; the Concordat concluded with the Pope, had attached the priests to Napoleon, and the gratitude of the poorer classes was excited by the great public works on which they were employed; such, as opening an internal navigation between Brest and the Loire, the canal which connected La Vilaine with La Rance, by means of which the French coasters could come from the coasts of Poitou to those of Normandy, without being obliged to sail round the coast of Brittany, and double the Cape at Ushant. A new city arose in the midst of La Vendée, and eight grand roads intersected the department itself, and proved most beneficial to its commerce and agriculture;—considerable sums were distributed amongst the Vendéans for the rebuilding of such of their houses as had been burnt down or otherwise destroyed by orders of the committee of public safety. Nothing therefore was to be hoped, either from the continental powers or the royalists of La Vendée whilst Napoleon ruled, yet circumstances were such, that a diversion was deemed indispensably necessary by the English ministers.

The English government had been frequently led into error by the royalists, who, deceived by their own illusions, had repeatedly engaged the former in unfortunate expeditions; besides which, the English government had a great idea of the power, and the means possessed by the Jacobin party. They suffered themselves to be persuaded, that a great number of these Jacobins, discontented with Bonaparte, were disposed to unite their efforts with those of the royalists; that they would also be seconded by several jealous generals, at the head of whom was Moreau; that by combining the efforts of both parties, opposite

indeed in their sentiments, but united by a common interest, they could succeed in forming a faction, sufficiently powerful to operate a most efficacious diversion.—Moreau, discontented, had been influenced since his marriage, by his wife and mother-in-law, two intriguing and ambitious Creoles from the Isle of France. —He set himself in opposition to Napoleon, and openly condemned the Concordat, and the formation of the Légion d'honneur, and became reconciled with Pichegru, who had been his companion in arms in the army of Holland and the Rhine; notwithstanding he had, in Fructidor year VI. (1797) in the order of the day, proclaimed this man a traitor to the republic, and had sent the papers containing his correspondence with the enemy, which he had found in the baggage of the Austrian General Klinglin, to the Directory. During the interval of the peace of Amiens, when communications were carried on with facility, a close correspondence took place between these two generals; their reconciliation was perfect and sincere, and their support was insured for the party.

An agent at Munich and another at Stuttgart, demanded the necessary funds to second a party, with which they had a correspondence, and which party, they announced, would not long delay raising the standard of civil war in France. The Abbe Ratel* had correspondents in Abbeville, Amiens, and in the rest of Artois, and promised every thing. In London there were two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Chouan officers in the Bourbon pay, who maintained a correspondence in Brittany and Normandy —full powers and considerable sums of money were sent to the agent at Munich: the command of the cruizers off the Scheldt and the Somme, was given to

* Louis Jean Baptiste Justin Ratel (1758–1816) was an agent of the Royalists during the Republic and the Empire.

Sir Sidney Smith, and a cutter commanded by Captain Wright was employed in furtherance of the plans of Georges. On the 21st of August 1803, Captain Wright conveyed from England to France, Georges, Villeneuve, La Haye, St. Hilaire, (two participators in the attempt of the 3d Nivôse*), Querelle, La Bonté, Picot, Troche, Jean Marie, all men of tried courage, and celebrated for many *coups-de-main* in the Chouan war, they were disembarked at the foot of the *Falaise de Biville*, between Dieppe and Tréport, near to which was a small farm, the proprietor of which had been bribed, and who made such signals as had been previously arranged and agreed upon. From the summit he let down a rope, with the aid of which, those who were landed ascended the sides of the precipice, which was perpendicular and insulated, and in consequence had not attracted the attention of either the guards of the coast or the custom-house officers. After the disembarkation, Georges and his companions passed the day in the farm-house, and set off in the night for Paris,—lodgings having been provided for them beforehand upon the road, in which they spent the day, and resumed their journey during the night through by-paths, giving themselves out for smugglers. By means of paying well, they interested every body in keeping their secret. Arrived at Paris. they found hiding-places, provided for them by means of all-powerful gold, which was not spared upon the occasion.

On the 10th of December Captain Wright effected a

* The attempt of the 3rd Nivôse. The latest research leaves this plot very much as Napoleon describes it here at length. Holland Rose, "Life of Napoleon," Vol. I., 450, describes the complicity of the British Government from unpublished papers. Our permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office, Mr. Hammond, knew all about the plans that were being arranged at the Comte d'Artois's house in Baker Street, and that the Admiralty gave practical help to the plotters. Dr. Rose is a violent anti-Bonapartist, but he admits that here "our Government must stand accused of one of the most heinous of crimes."

second descent consisting of Coster and St. Victor (implicated in the attempt of the third Nivôse), Lemercier, Tamerlan, Lelan, men of a similar cast, and Armand de Polignac, an emigrant noble. In the meantime, General Lajolais, who had served with Moreau and Pichegru, and whose wife had been mistress to the latter, went frequently backwards and forwards to London, as the bearer of dispatches between those two generals, and announced that Moreau was disposed to undertake any thing against the First Consul; that the moment and circumstances were favourable, and that no time was to be lost; in consequence of which, on the 16th of January 1804, Captain Wright made a third disembarkation at the *Falaise de Biville*, consisting of Generals Pichegru and Lajolais, Rosillion, Rochelle, Armand Gaillard, (Vendéans and Chouans,) Jules de Polignac and de Rivière, emigrant nobles, of whom the last was the chief confidant of the Count d'Artois. About fifty more Chouans were landed upon the coast of Brittany and Poitou, and proceeded separately by different paths to Paris. During the months of September, October, November, and December 1803, and January 1804, Napoleon may be said to have been placed upon a volcano. Three sorts of persons were disembarked at the *Falaise de Biville*, to wit, Chouans and Vendéans, wretches familiarized to crimes and assassinations; nobles, under Polignac and de Rivière; and finally, those who had been more or less employed under Pichegru during the revolution. It appeared, that Polignac and de Rivière were unsuccessful in all the overtures they made to the returned emigrants, none of whom would grant them an asylum, and who treated the enterprize as madness, and were afraid to commit themselves by embarking in it.

In the mean time, a fellow named Leclerc, an agent of the Abbe Ratel's, was arrested at Abbeville and his

papers seized, among which were found a great number of insignificant reports of espionage; but amongst them were some mysterious recitals which attracted attention. There was mention of the landings of Chouans in order to strike a great blow! Of a grand event likely soon to take place!

The well known Méhée de la Touche,* who had been a furious Jacobin, discontented with Napoleon, who had exiled him to the Isle of Oleron, had proceeded to London, where he had been received by the Bourbon princes, had held conferences with the Bishop of Arras, and had been introduced to some of our ministers; was sent from thence to Munich, where he opened himself to the agent; from thence he went to Paris and corresponded for some time with the different agents at Munich and Stuttgart; but not having at bottom any confidence in the emigrants, and mortally hating the English, he determined to confess every thing to the police; from whom he received orders to continue his correspondence as usual: however as he was not esteemed very trustworthy, an officer of the garrison of Strasburg, of tried fidelity, was sent with his letters and instructions. This man introduced himself to ——— and to ———,† and confirmed all Méhée's reports.

* Méhée de la Touche (1760–1826) was a spy employed by Fouché. He wormed himself into the secrets of the conspirators. He published his "Journal des Hommes libres" after the 18 Brumaire, and in consequence was exiled to England, where he got in touch with the Royalists. He published many pamphlets in his later years.

† "Probably Drake and Wickham," say the editors of the French translation of these Letters in the "Correspondance de Napoléon." Drake and Wickham were both Government spies in the pay of the English Foreign Office. Francis Drake was our minister at Munich, and his name is constantly appearing in shabby connections throughout this period. William Wickham (1761–1840) was a much more important man. He was employed by Grenville, then Foreign Secretary, as a secret agent, and, in fact, as a spy, although he held the post of minister to the Swiss Cantons. The French Directory demanded his expulsion in 1797 and he returned to England the following year, so that it was certainly

In consequence of the strict watch which was kept by the police of Strasburg over the Duchy of Baden, extraordinary movements were discovered. One Massey, an agent of the party, resided at Offenburg with the Duc d'Enghien, and was intrusted with the correspondence of the intriguers in the interior, to whom he also afforded supplies of money. The prince himself had been frequently at Strasburg, and went several times a week to the banks of the Rhine (under pretence of hunting), where he held conferences with different agents. A certain Baroness de Reich, who had been an object of suspicion for a length of time, appeared also to be very busy and occupied in unusual movements. Finally, the police of Paris since the month of September had arrested Chouans and brigands, who not having been pardoned, were in Paris clandestinely, and could give no satisfactory reasons for their being induced to come there and defy such an imminent risk. Amongst those who were arrested, were Picot and Querelle, who had been disembarked at the cliff of Biville. All these circumstances taken together evidently proved that some plot was hatching.

not Wickham, but probably Spencer Smith, whose name should have been given here. I quote the following from Wickham's *Correspondence:* "Generals Pichegru and Willot and Messrs. de Preçy and Dandré had frequently pressed Mr. Wickham to form a corps of French deserters and conscripts. Mr. Wickham at first resisted this plan for well-founded reasons; afterwards, circumstances being changed, Mr. Wickham assented to General Pichegru's plan, the outlines of which were as follows:—1. The formation of a depôt in the rear of the Austrian army, at which he would place some officers with whom he was well acquainted, not to discipline the soldiers, but to try their principles and procure information as to the conduct and character of each deserter and conscript. 2. If the project were to succeed at all, to form companies, to send them in succession to the army to be at the disposal of the Archduke until he thought the moment favourable for an invasion of France, and then the General undertook to place himself at their head."—"The Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. William Wickham." Edited by his grandson, William Wickham. Vol. II., 377.

Towards the end of January, Napoleon reading over one night the report in which were contained all these facts, thought that by trying some of the Chouans, who were imprisoned in Paris, the hope of pardon might perhaps induce one of them to confess; accordingly, he commenced by trying Querelle, marked out in the list of Chouans as a surgeon. This man was brought up by the Grand Judge before a council of war, and condemned to death. As he was going to execution he begged permission to speak, and promised to make some important discoveries. General Lauriston, who was then employed about the First Consul, had barely time to arrive at the prison, in order to suspend his execution, whither proceeded also Real, counsellor of state, to whom Querelle confessed that he came from England; that he disembarked the 21st of August 1803, at the *Falaise de Biville*, from an English cutter with Georges and several others; he made known all the lodging places where they had passed the days during their route from *La Falaise* to Paris; and finally, that at the very moment they were speaking, Georges was in Paris, for the purpose of assassinating the First Consul. Several officers were immediately sent out to the different places pointed out by him, as having been their lodgings, by whom all the depositions of the proprietors and others who had seen them, were collected in a mass; the result of which was the discovery of the two other disembarkations above mentioned, without, however, being able to come at the names of the individuals composing them; but that at the third disembarkation there was some person of great note, and to whom all the rest paid much respect. It was also ascertained that a new landing was shortly to take place, in consequence of which, Savary proceeded to the *Falaise de Beville*, accompanied by a detachment of the gens d'armerie, and occupied all the outlets,

having with him the person who had been in the habit of making the signals, in order to deceive those who composed the disembarkation, and seize them immediately upon landing. By means of this information Bouvet de Lozier,* an emigrant, proprietor of a house at St. Germain, as well as other persons, were also arrested. The accused were interrogated, and confronted, every thing which was already known was confirmed, but no new lights were thrown upon the subject.

Towards the middle of February, Bouvet de Lozier, giving himself up to despair, hanged himself in prison; the turnkey, however, hearing a noise in the chamber, arrived just in time to cut the cord and save his life, and went immediately to acquaint the magistrate charged with such affairs, with what had happened, who, on his arrival, found Bouvet de Lozier surrounded by surgeons, still purple and discoloured from the effects of strangulation and uttering extraordinary things. "We have been betrayed," said he angrily. "What a number of brave fellows must perish, because that traitor, Moreau, has deceived us. He told us, that the army was for him! he made Pichegru and a number of other fine fellows come from London! and when arrived, he abandoned us, and we shall all die victims to him." Upon hearing this, the Grand Judge demanded authority to arrest General Moreau; prior to doing which, however, it was desirable to ascertain

* Athanase Hyacinthe Bouvet de Lozier (1769–1825) was a French general, born in Paris. He followed the Bourbons into exile, and served in the Army of Condé. As a result of his share in the Cadoudal Plot he was sentenced to death, but pardoned at the intervention of Murat's wife, Caroline Bonaparte, and, after four years' imprisonment, was transported. In 1814 he was made a marshal and governor of the Isle of Bourbon. In 1818 he fell from favour, but later received the title of Count. He fell in a duel at Fontainebleau, where the clergy refused to read the burial service over his remains, and he was interred in the Jewish cemetery. He published a "Mémoire sur mon Administration de Bourbon," 1819.

the fact of Pichegru's being in Paris, which still remained to be proved. Two hours afterwards, an ex-monk, brother to Pichegru, was seized at his lodgings in the third story of a house in the Place Vendôme. He was a man of very peaceable character, and confessed at once that he had seen his brother thrice during the last ten days, and that he had blamed him for coming in such a manner to suffer a disgraceful death as a criminal. This was all that was wanted—the Grand Judge instantly issued his writ to arrest General Moreau, according to the tenth article of the constitution, for having plotted against the republic, and the life of the First Consul, in conjunction with Georges and Pichegru. He was taken by a Colonel of Gendarmerie whilst returning from his country-house at Grosbois, at about half way to Paris. On the carriage being stopped, and the colonel's order being made known to him, he laughed, and followed him to the Temple. When arrived, he demanded to see the order for his commitment. On reading in it, the names of Georges and Pichegru, he turned pale, and appeared to be as much disconcerted as he had before affected to be gay.

The fourth disembarkation, which was to have been made at the *Falaise de Biville*, was just on the point of being effected, when a frigate made signals to Captain Wright, who immediately stood out to sea. It was conjectured, that he then got information of what had taken place. At this time great outcries prevailed, with respect to the injustice of the treatment experienced by Moreau. It was said, that he was a victim to the ambition and jealousy of the First Consul; that Pichegru had never quitted London; that an *alibi* would be proved, and thereby the enemies of Moreau would be confounded. In the mean time, all the springs of the police were set in action. Lists of the sixty brigands in Paris, for the purpose of destroying the

government, were printed; Pichegru and Georges were closely pursued, but not yet caught; they were even traced to their lodgings; the places where Georges had slept three nights before, and Pichegru two nights before, were known; the police-officers had got scent of them, and tracked them like blood-hounds, from place to place. The legislative body enacted a law on the 9th of February, pronouncing the pain of death on all who afforded any asylum to the brigands.

Pichegru was betrayed by a person he had trusted with his secret, and was sold for one hundred thousand francs. At two o'clock in the morning of the 28th of February, police-officers entered the chamber where he slept, opened the door by means of a key, which had been furnished to them, and rushed to a small night-table upon which his pistols were lying. Pichegru, who was a man of extraordinary strength and courage, though surprized, defended himself with his fists like a madman, so that they were under the necessity of binding and conducting him thence with only his shirt on, to the prefecture of the police, where, seeing all resistance fruitless, he submitted and underwent his examination and was committed to prison. Until then, the public opinion with respect to Moreau's culpability had been suspended; but no sooner was it ascertained that Pichegru was arrested, than he was abandoned by almost every body, and supported no longer but by the *party*. Georges and about twenty more accomplices remained unseized; fearing that they might escape, Napoleon had recourse to an expedient, unexampled, I believe, till then, and which proved to what extent he was seconded by the sentiments of the capital; he declared Paris in a state of blockade, and nobody was allowed to go out of it, unless by day, and through fifteen outlets. The whole guard and garrison were bivouacked round the city, and sentinels on foot and on horseback,

posted at every fifty paces round the walls. No one could go out without being first examined by men personally acquainted with the brigands, whose description was fixed up in every direction. The promenades in the *Bois de Boulogne* and round Paris were prohibited, and the blockade, which lasted for six weeks, entirely put a stop to the habits and diversions of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding, made no complaints. At last, on the 9th of March, it was discovered that Georges was to cross the Pont Royal in a cabriolet, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in order to seek a lodging near the Pantheon. Precautions were taken in consequence of this information, and two police-officers were placed upon the Pont Royal, when, at the time expected, Georges crossed, driving rapidly the cabriolet himself. He was followed by the persons stationed for that purpose. Arrived at the Place de Pantheon, he discovered that the house where he was to lodge was beset; he immediately turned back, and encountered the two officers who had pursued him, one of whom seized the bridle, but was instantly stretched lifeless by a pistol fired by Georges, who then opened the cabriolet door, jumped out, and wounded the second; the populace, however, flocked round, and seized him, crying, '*It is Georges—it is Georges*', he was then conducted to the prefecture of the police, and from thence, after undergoing his first examination, he was committed. All his accomplices were afterwards arrested in succession, and the blockade of Paris was not raised until the last of them was taken: during which period men frequently appeared on the walls apparently with a design of leaping from them, but were deterred by the sight of the guards.

Pichegru underwent several examinations in prison; he denied having come to Paris with Georges, or even having seen him; but finding afterwards that every

thing was discovered, he put an end to his own existence on the 6th of April. Nobody was interested in his fate. It was proved, and not even denied by himself, that he had betrayed his country, that he was of the Bourbon party, and paid by England. He would not only have been condemned to death on account of the actual plot, but also on account of prior treasons. Moreau persisted still to assert that he was an enemy of Pichegru's, and denied having seen him; he also pretended to be ignorant of the place where he was to be found, and likewise constantly denied having seen Georges.

On the 15th of May, the public accuser of the Criminal Tribunal, drew up the act of accusation, although, it was at first wished, according to the letter of the military law, to bring the criminals before a court martial, which would have tried them, and the sentence would have been executed within four and twenty hours. To this Napoleon would not consent, and the business was pleaded at great length before the criminal tribunal of the Seine, and occupied the attention of all Paris for several days. Numerous memorials were distributed in favor of the accused, who were allowed the greatest latitude in their defence. When it was fully proved, in spite of his repeated denials, that Moreau had seen Georges, he became an object of universal contempt. —Georges, de Rivière, Bouvet de Lozier, Armand de Polignac, Charles d'Hozier, emigrant nobles, Lajolais, formerly a republican general, Georges Rusillion, Rochelle, Ducorps, Picot, Roger, Coster, Deville, Gaillard, Joyaut, Burban, Lemercier, Cadoudal, Lelan, and Mérille; were condemned to death. Jules de Polignac, Leridant, Rolland, and Marie Michel Hizay, to two years' imprisonment; Moreau, found guilty, but with extenuating circumstances, was condemned to two years' imprisonment, and departed the morning

afterwards for the United States of America, having sold all his property, of which his house in the Rue d'Anjou, and his estate of Grosbois, were purchased by Napoleon, who gave the first to Bernadotte, and the second to Berthier.—Pardon was granted by Napoleon, to several of the condemned, to wit, Charles de Riviere, Armand de Polignac, Bouvet de Lozier, d'Hozier, Lajolais, Armand Gaillard, Rusillion and Rochelle, whose punishment was commuted to imprisonment for some years; the rest were executed on the Place de Greve to the great satisfaction of the public.

It was proved by these trials, which took place, one may say in the face of all Europe, the ambassadors and foreign agents constantly attending the tribunal, that Pichegru having become reconciled to Moreau, came to Paris; that Moreau had several interviews with him, and three with Georges and him. The first interview which took place between Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, was in the Boulevard de la Madelaine at night. "Here I am," cried Pichegru, "there is not a moment's time to be lost in overthrowing the First Consul." Moreau answered, "Against the First Consul, living, I can undertake nothing; but I can undertake anything against the First Consul, dead. Kill the First Consul; and the senate, the people, and the army will unanimously nominate me in his place. I will change the commanders of the troops encamped at Boulogne, and I will name a commission to try you, Pichegru: acquitted, you will be appointed second consul." "Very well," cried Georges, "but in that case I must be third consul." "That is impossible," said Moreau. "If it were known, that I had even seen you, I should be a lost man, I should scarcely have my valet de chambre on my side." "This is all a farce," said Georges. "You mean to betray us. You, Moreau and Pichegru! You are both two blues. When you get into power you will have us

shot. I declare frankly to you, that, blue for blue, Bonaparte is much better than any body else."*

At the termination of the conference Moreau promised to see his friends and to try what he could do; several of them he sounded; but it is not supposed he imparted to them the whole of what was in agitation, and thereby became more than ever convinced that it was absolutely necessary for Georges and the Chouans to commence the business, by dispatching, in the first instance, the First Consul, for which purpose, several schemes were adopted. Six fellows were charged to poniard him on the parade, at the moment he went out of the gate of the Carrousel; and entered the crowd to receive petitions; but the parade never took place upon days previously fixed, and sometimes there was not one for three months. Thirty others were equipped in the uniform of the Chasseurs of the guard, and were to have attacked his carriage, between Nanterre and the Pont de Neuilly, when he went to Malmaison, to which place he generally went by night; to have charged his picquet, which did not consist of more than fifteen men, one half of whom would probably be killed by a discharge of pistols before they could defend themselves, and afterwards to massacre him in the carriage with their poniards. It is a fact, that the greater number of

* "Me voila," dit Pichegru, "il ne faut pas perdre un moment a culbuter le premier consul." Moreau lui repondit, "je ne puis rien contre le premier consul vivant, mais je puis tout contre le premier consul mort; tuez le premier consul, et le senat, le peuple et l'armée d'une commune voiz, me nommeront a sa place. Je changerai les commandants des camps de Boulogne, et je nommerai une commission pour vous juger, Pichegru, innocent, vous serez nomme second consul." "Bien," dit Georges, "mais alors, je veux etre troisieme consul." Moreau: "C'est impossible, si on savait seulement je vous ai vu, je serais un homme perdu, j'aurais a peine mon valet de chambre pour moi." Georges, "ces sont des contes, vous voulez nous trahir, Moreau et Pichegru, vous êtes tous les deux Bleus. Quand vous serez en pouvoir, vous nous ferez fusiller. Je vous declare franchement, bleu pour bleu, il vaut mieux Buonaparte que tout autre?"—*Note by original translator.*

these Chouans were not animated by any personal hatred or malice against Napoleon, and that having plenty of money, they were wallowing in the intemperance and debaucheries of Paris; that most of them had several mistresses, and put off from day to day the difficult and dangerous part of their operations.

Pichegru had committed the greatest crime that man is capable of, that of causing his army to execute false manoeuvres, on purpose that they might fall into ambuscades and snares of the enemy, and thus to cause *his own* soldiers, in executing his orders, to fall victims of his baseness and treachery.

Such was the result of this conspiracy to establish the Bourbons; it had, however, a contrary effect, and accelerated probably by several years, the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial throne. Previous to it, he had been chosen First Magistrate for life—which choice had been approved by the nation. The inconveniences attached to such a system of magistracy for life, were, however, easily foreseen. National convulsions after his death, in order to renew the supreme magistracy; attempts during his life, in the hope of, by a single blow, overturning the state, were the consequences naturally to be expected. The heads of the administration, the magistrates, the clergy, the people, and the army, demanded, with a common voice, an hereditary magistrature, or a monarchy. The empire, first proposed in the tribunate, was proclaimed in the senate, and ratified by the people.

This was the third time that the election of Napoleon had been sanctioned by the voice of the people. First, as First Consul, he had 3,011,009 votes for him, and 1362 against; secondly, in 1802, when nominated First Consul for life, he had 3,568,835 votes for him and 8374 against; and finally, for the empire, 3,574,898 for him and 2569 against.

Napoleon was consecrated and crowned Emperor of the French, on the 2d of December, 1804, by the Pope, the head of the catholic religion, who, with a number of his cardinals, had quitted his capital, crossed the Alps, and arrived at Paris for that purpose. A year afterwards, in 1805, on the anniversary of the same day, the 2d of December, he gained the famous victory of Austerlitz, over the Emperors of Russia and Austria.

The curiosity of the Parisian populace was excited at the coronation by the appearance of an Abbé mounted upon a mule bearing a crucifix in his hand, and preceding the holy Father to the church. Several festivals were given in consequence of the Pope's stay in Paris, and he frequently dined in public with Napoleon. A singular circumstance occurred on the evening of the 2d of December, which occupied the attention of every body—a balloon, on which was written in large letters the account of the coronation, was let off and arrived in Rome in the space of twenty-four hours from Paris, making known to the inhabitants of the first city, that Napoleon had been consecrated by their chief.

I have the honor, &c. &c. &c.

LETTER VII

Cape of Good Hope,
18th May. 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.,

This letter, as well as the preceding one, will be taken up in discussing the subjects treated upon in Mr. Warden's seventh letter.—Of the inaccuracies contained therein, I shall take no notice, but simply recount to you, events as they actually occurred, and all that I have already said, respecting the source from which I derive my information, and the correctness of it, applies in this place.

Napoleon entered the service as a lieutenant of artillery, in the regiment of La Fère, in 1785. In 1789, he was made captain, and lieutenant-colonel in 1793, at which period he commenced his political career at the siege of Toulon, being then twenty-four years of age—to this siege he was sent, as being an officer of an old corps of some reputation. Here it was, he displayed for the first time those military talents which since exalted the glory of the French armies to such a height—he here made prisoner, with his own hand, General O'Hara,* the commander-in-chief of our forces in Toulon.

* Charles O'Hara (1740?–1802) was educated at Westminster School, and was appointed to a cornetcy in 1752. He was the natural son of the second Lord Tyrawley. He was appointed Commandant at Goree in Senegal in 1766, and served in America as brigadier-general during the War of Independence, being with the troops under Cornwallis that surrendered at Yorktown. He was a prisoner in America until 1782. In 1793 he became a lieutenant-general, and was sent from Gibraltar to Toulon to take command of the British troops before that place. O'Hara was wounded, and captured by the French, was taken to Paris, and was a

In November 1793, that general made a sortie with a body of six thousand men, in order to make himself master of a French battery which played upon Fort Malbousquet, in which he succeeded, and spiked the guns in it. Dugommier,* the French commander in chief, threw himself amongst his troops, and rallied them, whilst his right arm, the commander of the artillery, as he was already styled, employed himself in first placing some field pieces upon different little hillocks, to support the retreat and dispute the ground with the English, in case their general should endeavour to follow up his success as far as Ollioules, intending to make himself master of the park of artillery attached to the French army, which was placed a little in advance of that village. Having done this, he went to a rising ground opposite to the battery occupied by our troops; he then, with a battalion of four hundred men, crept along a trench covered with olive branches, which communicated, from the rising ground he had occupied, with the battery, and which had been dug for the purpose of conveying powder and provisions. In this manner, he arrived, undiscovered, at the foot of the battery, from whence he commenced a fire from right to left, upon the English and Neapolitans by whom it was occupied, without their being able to discover from whence it came. An English colonel (as was then supposed) who was in the battery, mounted the parapet, in order to discover from what point this strange attack was made.

prisoner in the Luxembourg during the Reign of Terror. On O'Hara's return to England he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where he died in 1802.

* Dugommier, Jean François Coquille (1736–1794), has his name principally associated with Napoleon's first leap to fame at Toulon. He was the representative for the colony of Martinique in the Convention, and was made a General of Division in the Army of Italy, under the Republic. He recaptured Toulon, inspired by young Bonaparte, in December, 1793. He was killed by the bursting of a shell at Sierra Nigra, in Spain, in November, 1794.

A serjeant of a battalion of the French party fired at him and broke his arm. The colonel, (who turned out afterwards to be General O'Hara) fell at the foot of the battery, by the side of the trench. The soldiers threw themselves upon him, and were upon the point of dispatching him, when he was rescued by Napoleon, who grasped and preserved him in that critical situation, from every insult and danger, and to whom he presented his sword and declared his name and rank. Napoleon also, afterwards, used his influence so effectively in his favour, that he was treated as became a man of his rank, notwithstanding the inhuman laws which then existed against the English. For this he was made colonel,—and afterwards when Toulon was taken, general of brigade. During 1794, he was made commander in chief of the artillery of the army of Italy, and as such directed the operations which gained to the French Saorgio, the Col du Tende, and the heights of Savona and Vado. Arrived at Paris, he was employed by the Committee of Public Safety to direct the movements of the armies. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, the Convention gave him the command of the troops, when by the excellence of the dispositions he adopted, he caused the Convention to triumph over its enemies, although he had only five or six hundred men to defend that body against all the population of Paris. As to this interesting event, I have been informed that the conventionalist army fired ball and grape-shot only, until they were sure of victory, which was the work of a quarter of an hour—and, that immediately afterwards, they fired and continued to do so all the evening and night, blank cartridge only—and that to this was to be attributed the trifling loss sustained by the Parisians, which Napoleon states, in his history, not to have amounted to more than between three and four hundred men in killed and wounded. After this memorable day, which

baffled all the projects of the enemies of the revolution, General Menou* was brought before a military commission: he had commanded the conventionalist troops the evening before the 13th; he was accused of having betrayed his cause, and his destruction appeared inevitable, when Napoleon had recourse to a plan which met with the most perfect success; he declared to the officers composing the military commission, that Menou was guilty and deserved death, but that there had been placed over him, three commissioners of the Convention, who were still more culpable, and that as soon as the Convention had punished these three commissioners, Menou's death would be just. This had the desired effect at once, the *esprit de corps* was mortified, by seeing Menou only brought to trial, he was unanimously acquitted, and afterwards preserved an eternal gratitude to the author of his deliverance.

During the month of May 1796, the army of Italy was in a most deplorable state. Napoleon was called to it by the opinion of the troops, who had great confidence in him, from the talents he had displayed at Toulon, and during the two years in which he had directed the movements of that army, under the title of Commandant of Artillery. The event justified their choice, he surmounted every obstacle, subdued the king of Sardinia, and made himself master of all Italy. After the battle of Lodi, and the capture of Milan, and above all, after the battle of Castiglione, and Wurmser's defeat, his military reputation stood very high, and

* Jacques François, Baron de Menou (1750–1810), although of noble family, joined the revolutionary forces, but was beaten in Vendée in 1793. When placed on his trial his life was saved by Bonaparte as described in the text. He accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, married an Egyptian, and became a Mohammedan under the name of Abdullah. At Kléber's death he succeeded to the command of the Army in Egypt, but was defeated by Abercromby in 1801 at Canope. He died Governor of Venice in 1810.

he became as much the favourite, and the hope of the friends of republicanism, as he had been the terror of their enemies. The Bourbon party, who from London, from the Rhine and Warsaw, endeavoured to create partizans, and who had succeeded in gaining over Pichegru, made many efforts also with Napoleon, but all in vain. I have heard it asserted, that agents sent from that party in London, after having passed through Paris, a few months before the 18th Fructidor, went to Milan, in order to renew some intrigue, and to seduce the triumphant general of Italy: that they had a conference with Pichegru, but that this last named said to them, "Softly, softly; mind what you are about, I have known Bonaparte since he was ten years old, you will not succeed there in anything; if he had been for the Bourbons he would have emigrated, but, having adopted another way of thinking, there is nothing to be hoped from him."

In consequence of the revolution which took place in Brumaire, after his return from Egypt, he was appointed First Consul. The Sieur Hyde de Neuville,* the same who has since been president of the Chamber of Deputies, and another person named d'Audigné,† an old officer of the army, and chief of the royalists who were in Paris, were presented to him at eleven o'clock at night, in a

* Jean Guillaume Hyde de Neuville (1776–1857) was of English origin on his father's side. He became an agent in France of the Comte d'Artois, and undoubtedly negotiated with Napoleon as stated. He became an exile in America during the Empire, and returned to France at the Restoration. He negotiated from London the Peace between the United States and England after our little war with that country. He tempered his zeal for the House of Bourbon by saving Masséna from exile, and assisting other of Napoleon's friends. He was for a time Ambassador to Portugal. His devotion to Louis XVIII., and Charles X., did not save him from a fall, but he refused to serve Louis Philippe or his successor. He wrote interesting "Memoirs" published in Paris so late as 1890–1.

† d'Audigné, a family of Anjou. I can learn nothing of the representative of this house.

small apartment of the Luxembourg. The object of these two agents of the Count d'Artois was, to propose to Napoleon the assistance of all the Vendéens and the royalist party, if he would enter into engagements with them; and Napoleon's object, on his side, was to endeavour to gain them, and discover the different ramifications of their party. Neither the one nor the other, however, succeeded. "I forget the past," said Napoleon, "and I open a great field for what is to come: whoever marches straight forwards will be protected without distinction; whoever deviates either to the right or left will be stricken by the thunder. Let all the Vendéens who are willing to enter into the national government and under my protection, place themselves in the great road pointed out to them; *but a government protected by foreigners* will never be accepted by the French nation."—Hyde was afterwards implicated as a party to the plot of an infernal machine on the 3d Nivôse.*

Some months afterwards a new attempt was made by the Bourbons. The Count de Lille—now Louis the XVIIIth, wrote with his own hand, a letter to Napoleon, which he gave to the Abbé Montesquiou,† who was afterwards member of the provisional government of 1814. The Abbé gave it to the consul Lebrun, who delivered it to Napoleon. It was as follows: "You delay a long time in restoring to me my throne. You lose a precious opportunity which you will never have again.—Without me, you can never render France happy, and without you I can never maintain her glory—choose your rank

* This same fellow is, we believe, now minister from Louis to the United States of America.—*Translator's note.*

† François Xavier, Abbé de Montesquiou-Feyenzac (1757–1832), is principally interesting as having been elected to the Academy without having written a line. He was a refugee in England during the Revolution, and during a portion of Napoleon's reign. He was a member of the Provisional Government of 1814, and was made a Peer by Louis XVIII. in 1815, and a Duke in 1821.

—be assured of whatever lot you desire for your friends. —Every thing you engage for shall be ratified." The morning after Napoleon returned the following answer by the same channel, to Louis—" I have received your letter, and thank you for the flattering expressions it contains of me; but neither yourself nor any other prince of your family ought ever to desire to enter France again—to accomplish that, you must trample over the carcases of five hundred thousand Frenchmen. I am alive to the unheard of misfortunes of your family, and I will endeavour to do every thing in my power to secure you a retreat and tranquillity."

After this, I do not believe that any attempt was made by the Bourbons to suborn Napoleon to their views. A step taken by a Prussian agent with the Count de Lille, in order to induce the latter to surrender his rights to Napoleon, and which gave rise to a declaration from the princes of the house of Bourbon, has been spoken of. This step, I have been assured, was never authorized by the French government; and that so far from it, that government would not have received their renunciation if they had sent it, as being contrary to all the principles of the sovereignty of the people, upon which the republic was founded; but, that the cabinet of Berlin having asked a supply of money for the princes of the house of Bourbon, who were then at Warsaw or Memel, an answer was vaguely returned, that the French nation would not regret any pecuniary sacrifice, provided the princes of that house would live in tranquillity, and abstain from creating disturbances in the country, which answered no other end than causing domestic crimes, robbing some diligences, and the murder of a few of the purchasers of national domains. —This answer, it is said, the Bourbon princes availed themselves of, in order to make a great parade, which was laughed at by everybody.

In his history, Napoleon states, that after the last unsuccessful attempt made by Louis in 1800, the Bourbons having lost all hopes, turned their views towards getting rid of him by assassination. In the manuscript I have mentioned I think the number of attempts made by the Chouans and royalists, is stated to have amounted to seven—all were discovered before the time of their execution, excepting that of the infernal machine, which horrible attempt took place on the evening of the 3d Nivôse (24th of December, 1800). An opera was performed in the hall of the oratorio, and the artists were very desirous that Napoleon should be present. Having, however, passed the greater part of the day at the council of state, and being greatly fatigued, he fell asleep at seven o'clock, after his dinner, upon a sofa in his wife's drawing-room, who, shortly after he awoke, pressed him to partake of a little amusement —to do which, he displayed great unwillingness. However, Marshals Bessières and Lannes having arrived in the meantime, he agreed, and got into his carriage, accompanied by those two officers, attended by his usual escort of pages, out-riders, and a dozen of horse grenadiers, of which last, two rode with the out-riders about twenty paces in front of the carriages. After passing the gates of the Carrousel, to get to the rue de Richelieu, it was necessary to pass through the rue d'Échelle and the rue Saint-Nicaise. At the corner of the last there was a small two-wheeled cart, with a cask mounted upon it, exactly resembling those which are used in that capital to water the streets. This was the infernal machine—some Chouans arrived, it is stated, a short time before from ———, amongst whom were Limoëlan, Saint-Rejent, Carbon, Coster, Saint-Hilaire, Joyaut, and others were stationed to explode it. Limoëlan having advanced a few paces to meet the carriage, in order to ascertain that it was the First Consul's, received

a blow from one of the advanced grenadiers, and was by his boots knocked down upon the ground; he got up, ran to the machine, and fired it, but not before the carriage had turned the corner: Napoleon describes the first sensations he felt (before he heard the noise of the explosion and saw the falling of the roofs of the houses) to have been a rocking motion, as if the vehicle had been borne by the waves of the sea, and at that instant the carriage-windows were shivered to atoms. The coachman, being in liquor, fortunately took the noise of the explosion for a salute fired in honour of the Consul, and flogged his horses as hard as he was able, so that only one man (the last of the escort) not having turned the corner was wounded and thrown to the ground. Napoleon's consort, and his sister Caroline, then pregnant, followed his carriage at the distance of about one hundred paces, and the machine exploded between them. —General Rapp,* who was in the carriage with them, immediately sprung out, and endeavoured to quiet the alarm of the ladies, who thought that Napoleon was killed, until assured of the contrary a few moments afterwards, by the grenadiers of the escort. As soon as the carriage had passed the Théâtre de la République, Napoleon, being very uneasy about his wife, stopped,

* Jean Rapp (1772–1821), a French general, born at Colmar. He served with distinction under Moreau, then followed Desaix to Egypt as his aide-de-camp. After Desaix's death at Marengo, Rapp was sent by Napoleon in 1802 to Switzerland. He distinguished himself at the battle of Austerlitz in 1805, and at Jena in 1806. He was in Russia under Napoleon, and afterwards held Dantzig with a small garrison, against 60,000 Russians. After its capitulation he was for a time a prisoner in Russia. During the Hundred Days Napoleon sent Rapp to Alsace to defend Strassburg. At the Second Restoration he retired to Switzerland, but returned to France in 1817, restored to his rank in the army, and made a peer of France and Chamberlain to Louis XVIII. In 1823 certain "Memoirs" were published with his name attached. This book also appeared in England as "Memoirs of General Count Rapp, First Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon, written by Himself, and published by his Family." But the "Memoirs" are now acknowledged to be a forgery.

and ordered the picquet to go and meet her; then went on to the opera; and although all the glasses in the house were immediately pointed at him, it is said that nothing unusual was observed by his countenance. A few moments afterwards, however, they were undeceived by the arrival of the women, whose pallid faces, in which consternation was evidently pourtrayed, and a profusion of tears, plainly demonstrated that some untoward event had occurred.

The explosion of the machine destroyed five or six houses, killed about a dozen of the inhabitants, and wounded thirty. The trial of such of the offenders as could be found, was held publicly, according to form, before the criminal tribunal of Paris, and the proceedings were printed in two volumes. Saint-Rejent and Carbon were executed at the Place de Grève. Limoëlan succeeded in effecting his escape to America, where, it is said, he has since turned monk. Georges, who was then in Brittany, and the count d'A———,* then in London, were recognised as the horrible contrivers of this attempt.

To explain to you, however, by what means the real authors of this project were discovered, and the manner in which the royalists had at first received the idea of the infernal machine from a club of Septembrizers who had been discovered, and with whom the agents of the party communicated in their prison, would take up too much time, and lead me too far away from the original subject. The indignation excited in Paris by the attempt was extreme; and subsequent to it

* That the Count d'Artois, who is here meant, was a party to the conspiracy is now acknowledged on all hands. Take so antagonistic a critic of Napoleon as Mr. Holland Rose, who writes:—

"I have examined the . . . . Foreign and Home Office archives, and have found proofs of the complicity of our Government. Our Government was aware of the Bourbon plot, and these documents . . . . prove its active complicity."

down to 1804, I have read in the manuscript, that five others were made to assassinate Napoleon, all said to be directed by the count d'A———.

In the same manuscript the conspiracy of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges is related as follows :—" Pichegru and Georges were disembarked from English ships upon the coast of France, seconded from the borders of Germany by the intrigues of ———* at Munich and ———* at Stuttgart. It was proved that a prince of the house of Bourbon was to disembark at the cliff of Biville, as soon as intelligence should be received of the assassination of Napoleon. And as fears were entertained that the wind, always independent, and never subordinate to the vain calculations of man, should prove unfavourable, and prevent the intended disembarkation, it was decided, that the Duc d'Enghien, then in Germany, should, immediately upon being made acquainted with it, proceed to Paris as the representative for the king, for it was deemed that the presence of a prince of the blood was indispensable. The Duc d'Enghien, a young prince of the greatest bravery, lived four leagues from the frontiers of France. It was proved that he there carried on a correspondence with Strasburg, where his agents had shewn themselves, and that several times in the week, under pretence of hunting, he had conferences upon the banks of the Rhine with agents from the interior ; that all the agents in the English pay, had received orders to unite in the Brisgau, and the duchy of Baden ; that this Prince had with him at Offembourg, a person named Massey, an emigrant-agent, who served as the means of his correspondence with ——— and ———,† and furnished all the necessary supplies

* The French editors insert here the names of Drake and Winckham (Wickham), to whom reference has already been made.

† Here again the names of " Winckham " and Drake are inserted by the French editors.

of money for all the plots. Upon this, Napoleon judged that it was absolutely necessary to secure the person of the Duc d'Enghien, and accordingly a regiment of dragoons crossed the Rhine at Neuf-Brisach, at seven in the evening; invested the Prince's house in the night, made him a prisoner, and conducted him to Strasburg, from whence he was instantly taken to Paris, brought before a military commission according to the laws, condemned to death, and the sentence executed and posted up all over Paris. The tribunal was not composed arbitrarily, but formed according to law of all the colonels in the garrison of Paris. The Prince avowed his having borne arms against the republic, having solicited and obtained a new employment from England, and being privy to, and taking an active part in, the events of the day." In the manuscript, Napoleon is made to state "that if the Count d'Artois had been taken under similar circumstances, he would have been tried and executed in a like manner; that the laws of France were positive against those who bore arms against their country; the Prince was besides one of the chiefs of the great conspiracy then plotting."

Even those who wished to maintain that he was not privy to the conspiracy, have agreed, that his death was to be attributed to the Count d'Artois, (in fact the latter was frequently reproached by the unfortunate Prince's father, the Duc de Bourbon, as having been so),* who, at the moment whilst he was planning the overturning of the republic, and the assassination of the first magistrate of the republic, left a prince of his

* Lanfrey will have it that Napoleon hoped and waited, expecting the Count d'Artois to climb the cliff of Biville among the other well-localised conspirators, and this historian declares that had the future Charles X. presented himself he would have suffered in the Duc d'Enghien's place. "The only crime of the Duc d'Enghien was being within reach of Bonaparte at the moment, that Bonaparte needed the blood of a Bourbon." Lanfrey, "Life of Napoleon," Vol. II., Ch. X.

blood in the power of that very magistrate.—"The affair of the Duc d'Enghien," says Napoleon, "ought to be judged by the law of nature and policy." "By the law of nature," he maintains, "that he was not only authorized to cause him to be tried, but even to procure his being put to death. What," said he, "can be alleged in favor of the princes of a house, who were publicly convicted of being the contrivers of the infernal machine, and who had actually disgorged sixty brigands upon Paris, for the purpose of causing me to be assassinated? Was not I, by the laws of nature, authorized to cause the Count d'Artois to be assassinated in London? By the law of policy, the whole republic tottered upon the brink of a precipice, and the Duc d'Enghien was one of the chiefs who conspired its fall; and besides, it was necessary to check the audacity of the Bourbons, who had sent to Paris sixty of their adherents, amongst whom were the Rivières, the Polignacs, Bouvets, and others; people of no ordinary stamp, and not brigands or murderers accustomed to assassinations and robberies like the Chouans. The republican government could not, consistent with its dignity, do less, when the assassination of its chief was publicly plotted—than cause its thunder to strike the family which dared to engage in such attempt."

It is stated in the manuscript, that, in some of the French journals printed in London at this time, several extracts from a pamphlet published in Cromwell's time entitled "Killing No Murder,"* were to be found. It

* The pamphlet "Killing No Murder" was written by one, Edward Sexby in 1657. He was assisted by one Silas Titus, who, according to C. H. Firth ("The Last Years of the Protectorate"), "polished Sexby's periods, pointed his invective, supplied the necessary learning, and seasoned the whole with a satirical wit rare in the controversial literature of the time." Both Sexby and Titus claimed the authorship. The purport of the pamphlet was to prove that the assassination of the Protector was "both lawful and laudable."

proceeds, by stating, that for four years, Napoleon had united all parties, which until then had divided France, the list of emigrants had been closed; at first several erasures had been made in it; afterwards, different names were suffered quietly to drop out; and finally, an amnesty was granted to all who were willing to enter again into the bosom of their native land,—and all their existing goods and chattels, and all such land as had not been sold, were restored to them. None remained upon the list but a few persons attached to the princes, or declared enemies to the revolution, who had refused to profit by the amnesty.—Nearly one hundred thousand emigrants re-entered France in this manner, who were subject to no other conditions than taking the oath of obedience and fidelity to the republic,—and Napoleon states, that it afforded him the greatest consolation of which man is susceptible, in being able thus to organise anew, more than thirty thousand families, and to restore to their native country, the remaining descendants of those heroes, who had rendered France so illustrious in different ages. Even those, who still continued emigrants, frequently obtained passports to visit their friends and relations. Religion was re-established, and the exiles and transported priests were again placed at the head of the dioceses and parishes, and paid by the republic. Notwithstanding, continues the narration, all these regulations produced a wonderful amelioration in public affairs, still, however, an unavoidable inconvenience arose from such an extremely indulgent system, viz. "the emboldening of the enemies of the republic, the Bourbon party, and the hopes of the foreign powers." An act of rigour was therefore necessary; and one which should plainly manifest, that moderation was not feebleness; and which would shew, beyond the possibility of a doubt, to the Bourbons, the lot which awaited them, and the risks which they incurred by still continu-

ing to persist in such attempts; that it was, in fact, necessary to make them *fully* acquainted with the position in which they stood.

When the Duc d'Enghien had arrived at Strasburg, he wrote a letter to Napoleon, in which he stated, "that his rights to the crown were very distant; that for a length of time, his family had lost their claims; and promised, if pardon was granted to him, to discover every thing he knew of the plots of the enemies of France; and to serve the First Consul faithfully." This letter was not presented by Talleyrand to Napoleon until it was too late. The young prince was no more. In the manuscript Napoleon states, "*Perhaps, if this letter had been presented in time, the political advantages which would have accrued from his declarations and his services, would have decided the First Consul to pardon him.*" He further states, that it is entirely and absolutely false, that any solicitation was made to him, in favor of the Duc d'Enghien, either by Josephine, or by any other person whatever; that on the contrary, the whole cabinet were unanimous in their opinion, of the necessity of making the just reprisal; and that Talleyrand was warmer than any other, because his constant maxim was, that it was necessary to destroy *all the* Bourbons, in order to insure the tranquillity of France.

I have taken considerable pains to make myself acquainted with the truth of an assertion, that an offer had been made to procure the assassination of the Count d'Artois, and the other Bourbon princes, even in the bosom of Old England, and that the proposal was made by a person well acquainted with our system of police. It is not at all difficult to imagine, that a government which had so many millions at its disposal, might easily, if so inclined, have procured emissaries to execute such a project, or at least might have tried it so many

times, as either to render its ultimate success certain, or else the attempts made for that purpose must have come to our knowledge. Such an attempt it appears evidently, was never made, and it is asserted, that Napoleon answered when the proposal was made, " Je n'ai jamais commis de crime, je n'en commettrai point, pour me defaire des princes qui n'ont point de consistance, et qui n'ont aucune influence en France."

Louis the XVIIIth is unreservedly acquitted by Napoleon, and the remainder of the exiles, of having had any participation in the plan for assassination. He is said to have been invariably more moderate, and never privy to, or concerned in, any such criminal attempts.

I have the honor,

&c. &c &c.

LETTER VIII

Cape of Good Hope,
26th of May. 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

This letter will be a continuation of the preceding one, and I will commence by giving you the substance of a conversation I had with Bertrand upon the subject of Napoleon's elevation.

"Napoleon," said he, "arrived at the summit of human grandeur, by upright means, and without having committed any private action which would be disowned by morality. In this respect his elevation is unique in history, for in order to reign ,himself David destroyed the house of Saul, his benefactor: Caesar destroyed the government of his country; Cromwell caused his master to perish on a scaffold; Catherine the Second her husband to be assassinated. Napoleon was a stranger to all the crimes of the revolution, as, ere his political career commenced, the throne had fallen; Louis the XVIth had perished, and France was torn to pieces by factions. His career commenced with the conquest of Italy, and the peace of Campo Formio. He caused the independence of France to be acknowledged by all the powers of Europe. When," continued he, "in 1800 he arrived at supreme power, he put down anarchy, and mounted the throne by the universal consent of the people and the army."

Having asked him for some details respecting the affair at Jaffa, he answered, "Why do you not ask me about the assassination of Kleber, of Desaix, Hoche, the

Duc d'Abrantes, the Duc de Montebello, and others! for I have read in your English publications, that he was guilty of all these, as well as divers others." During the time that I was in France myself, I never could succeed in obtaining any other answer, upon this subject, from any of the French officers, who had served in Egypt, than "*cela est par trop absurde?*" Count de Las Cases, however, lent me for half an hour two chapters of the campaigns of Syria, from which I could only extract the following, being rather pressed for time.*

"El-Arish, the first post met with in Egypt, is an Oasis situated in the desert, which separates Africa from Asia. In it are to be found five or six wells, which afford a sufficient quantity of water for an army of 30,000 men, and a wood of palm-trees, which would afford shade and shelter to about a similar number. There is a tolerable large village, and a fort built of stone. Djezzar Pacha, appointed by the Port Seraskier of Egypt, sent there his advanced guard, composed of about 4000 men, of whom 1500 were cavalry. As soon as Napoleon was informed of this, he dispatched General Regnier on the 9th of February to retake so important a post. On the 9th Regnier attacked the village of El-Arish, drove out the Turkish advanced guard, made three hundred prisoners and surrounded the fort, in which were pent up about two thousand men, Maugrebins and Arnauts, who formed the infantry of the advanced guard, and who were under the orders of four captains, each of whom was independent of the other. The cavalry retreated about half a league, and took up a position, covered by a hollow way, which defended the road to Syria, where they remained without any fear,

* The editors of Napoleon's "Correspondance" omit the whole of this narrative of his Egyptian campaign from the letter. Yet it is not a repetition of the Egyptian section of "Memoirs of the History of France," that Napoleon dictated to General Gourgaud.

as the French had not more than two hundred light cavalry with them. Abdallah, who commanded Djezzar Pacha's army, was at Kan-Youses in Syria, from whence he put himself in motion with five or six thousand men, comprising both infantry and cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon (amongst whom were Ibrahim Bey's Mamelukes) and took a position in the evening of the 12th of February, behind his cavalry opposite El-Arish. The position of the French advanced guard, would have been extremely critical, had it not been for the arrival of Kleber at day-light, with his division, and Murat with a body of eight hundred cavalry. Kleber undertook the blockade of the fort, and Regnier placed himself with his divisions upon the borders of the ravine in order to repress the Turkish army. In this position he remained the 13th and 14th. During the night of the 14th and 15th, he quitted his camp, ascended the ravine for about a league, and then crossed it. His division was composed of three regiments of infantry, which he placed in order of battle, changing his front, the right in advance, his left supported by the ravine. His order of battle was formed in three close columns at deploying distance, and at two hundred paces in front of each column, he placed the grenadiers and voltigeurs of each regiment (about one hundred and fifty men) and sixty of the picked cavalry. Formed in this manner, he approached the Turkish army. At about two o'clock in the morning, when he was sufficiently near, he halted, dressed his lines, and moved on with the advanced guards of the columns—threw them into the midst of the camp, by three different directions, and produced the greatest terror and confusion in it—and proceeded himself strait to the Pacha's tent, who had barely time to save himself, on foot, half dressed. All the army was dispersed, leaving their tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions, with about one hundred and fifty killed,

and more than twelve hundred prisoners—one thousand saddle and draught horses, and five hundred camels, and the fugitives did not begin to rally until they reached the Kan-Youses. At day-light the next morning, Napoleon, who had traversed the desert with great expedition upon a dromedary, arrived, and summoned the garrison of El-Arish, and was answered with the greatest insolence. A battery of four twelve-pounders was established against it, by taking advantage of a large stone store which was about a pistol-shot from the fort. A practicable breach was soon made, and then the four captains proposed to parley, for which purpose they went to the general in chief's tent, where they demanded an armistice of fifteen days, offering, if not relieved in that time, to surrender. After two hours spent in useless discussions, during which their four captains who had the appearance of banditti, appeared very resolute, and confident of being succoured, the conference was broken up. The success of an assault was infallible, but it would probably cost six or seven hundred men. The artillery was again directed against it, and fired with such quickness and precision, that in the course of the morning they threw from seven to eight hundred shells, the great number of which burst in the fort, where, as it was extremely small, they caused a frightful slaughter, and it was covered with dead bodies, and deluged with blood. The garrison, in consequence, became a little more calm,—new parleys took place, and the four captains signed a capitulation. The fort was surrendered at day-light, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, laid down their colours and arms, and became prisoners—agreeing not to carry arms against the French, but to proceed by the desert to Bagdat, and not to enter Syria again for two years. Three hundred of them (Maugrebins) volunteered into the French army, five hundred had been killed or

wounded, and twelve hundred were escorted by a detachment of dromedaries, for two days march in the desert, in the direction of Bagdad. In the fort, three pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, several hundred camels, and a great quantity of provisions were found. On the 22d of February, two hours before day-light, General Kleber formed the advanced guard of the army, and marched towards Syria, with orders to proceed as far as Kan-Youses, though he had twelve French leagues (seventeen of theirs) to cross. Two hours after midday, Napoleon departed with one hundred dromedaries and one hundred cavalry, to join his advanced guard; he proceeded at a brisk trot, but in passing by Santon de Kanouba, he observed with astonishment, that the trenches in which the Arabs concealed their straw, corn, and sometimes roots, had not been ransacked by the soldiers. No stragglers were met with, which, however, was not extraordinary, as fear of the Bedouins effectually prevented any such from being seen in the army. Having arrived at the Wells of Rapka, where the two columns, which separate Africa from Asia, are placed, he was alarmed at not perceiving any traces of water spilt, as the French advanced guard ought to have passed there about two hours before. He, then, was not more than two leagues distant from Kan-Youses, he continued his march, and when he came opposite that village, the day was nearly spent; two chasseurs of the advanced guard fired a couple of shots, and immediately afterwards a handsome camp presented itself to their view, which turned out to belong to the Turks, who immediately flew to arms. What then had become of Kleber and his advanced guard? An immediate retreat was decided upon, although the horses were greatly fatigued; and they arrived at the Wells of Zawi at ten o'clock at night, having been pursued by the Turkish Pacha (who had mounted on horseback) with

his cavalry, for about half a league, when, as the night had become extremely dark, he was apprehensive of an ambuscade, and returned to his camp. For some hours, the detachment was a prey to a thousand reflections of a most desponding nature. At two o'clock in the morning, however, a party of the dromedaries who had been sent in the direction where they expected to find a miserable hut, occupied by some Arabs, whose occupation was feeding a few droves of camels, returned, bringing with them one of the Arabs, who gave information that "A French army as numerous as the stars in the heavens, or the grains of sand in the desert," had taken the route for Mecca. Guided by this Arab, Napoleon mounted his dromedary and marched on; at day-light he encountered some dragoons who appeared harassed with fatigue, from whom intelligence was received that Kleber had mistaken the way, and that the soldiers, surprised at not arriving at Santon de Karouba, where, according to the information which they had received, they would find the trenches with roots, suspected that they had lost their way; that Kleber had immediately halted them; that they had had only a sufficiency of water for their soup, and that in the night they had commenced their march anew in order to return by the way they had come; for, in consequence of the original intention having been that the advanced guard should avail themselves of the Wells of Rapka and arrive at Kan-Youses in one day, they had only with them camels carrying a sufficiency of water for that day. Two hours afterwards Napoleon fell in with the division. The soldiers, the moment they perceived him, burst into cries of joy. Harassed with fatigue and thirst, their minds were completely bewildered; some of the young soldiers, in despair, had even broken their muskets. Hope returned to them at the sight of their general, who assembled and

harangued them nearly as follows: "I am followed by several camels laden with water, who will arrive in less than three hours, but even allowing that they were at a greater distance, learn to die with honour and without murmuring." In fact, they did arrive at Zawi at noon, where they fell in with the other division, and the camels laden with skins of water. Napoleon then pushed on with Lannes' division, and arrived at Kan-Youses on the 24th, from whence the Turkish army had departed. No rencontre took place between the two armies until they arrived at Gaza. The Turks did not sustain the shock for a moment; the fort and town of Gaza were taken, and the French head-quarters were established at Uzote on the 1st of March, and at Rumsle on the 2d. An advanced-guard was directed upon Jerusalem, where a thousand Christians were in prison and under the poniards of the Turks. Napoleon, however, secretly concluded an armistice with the Pacha, and being thereby in security with respect to his right flank, marched against Jaffa on the 4th, which was invested and several batteries of twelve-pounders directed against it. It was fortified only by a single wall, but there was a garrison of six or seven hundred men, amongst whom was a corps of artillery from Constantinople, which had been instructed by French officers. When the batteries were ready to open, a flag of truce was sent to summon the place; a quarter of an hour afterwards, the head of the unfortunate man, who had borne it, was seen stuck upon the end of a pike, and his mutilated carcase thrown over the walls. This was the signal to begin; in three hours a breach was made in one of the towers; forty or fifty grenadiers and a dozen of sappers made a lodgment in it; the column followed; the place was taken by assault; nothing could stop the fury of the soldiery; almost every body they encountered was shot, and the place delivered up to pillage.

During the night the disorder was terrible, and no sort of order could be established until day. As many as had been saved of the unfortunate garrison were sent prisoners to Egypt, with the exception of about eight hundred men, who were shot. They were the remainder of the twelve hundred of the garrison of El Arish, who after having marched in the direction of Bagdat,* had changed their route, violated their capitulation, and thrown themselves into Jaffa. Prudence would not admit of their being sent to Cairo. Accustomed to the Desert, they would have all escaped in their march, and they would have been found again in Acre. About four thousand Turks perished in Jaffa, and about three thousand were saved, namely, twelve hundred sent prisoners to Egypt; thirteen hundred soldiers and servants, natives of Egypt, who were set at liberty as fellow countrymen; and five hundred were sent to carry the news of the French victory to Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, &c. &c."

It would render this letter too long, and besides I

* Capitulation of El-Arish.

The Commandant of the fort of El-Arish, and the other three Commandants of the troops, to the General in Chief.

We have received the capitulation which you have addressed to us, we consent to deliver into your hands, the fort of El-Arish. We will return to Bagdat by the Desert. We send you the list of the Agas of the fort, who promise, upon oath, for themselves and their troops, not to serve in Djezzar's army, and not to return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from this day. We will receive a pass and colours from you. We will leave in the castle all the supplies which are found there. The whole of the Agas in the fort, solemnly swear by our Lord, Moses, Abraham, by the Prophet (to whom may God be propitious) and by the Koran, to execute, faithfully, all these articles, and above all not to serve Djezzar. The Most High and His Prophet are witnesses of our good faith.

Signed.—Ibrahim Niran, Commandant of the Fort of El-Arish.
El. H. Hadjy Mohammed, Colonel of the Mogrebins.
El. H. Hadjy Zadyr, Aga of the Arnauts.
Mohammed Aga, Chief of the Commissaries.

—Translator's Note.

had not time to take notes, with that exactness I had determined to observe in all I related, concerning the march of the French from Jaffa to St. Jean d'Acre, or of the details of the siege of that city, or of the battles which took place at Mount Tabor against the armies of Damascus and Aleppo. Suffice it to say, that on the 20th of May, the French raised the siege, and following the track along the sea-side encamped on the ruins of Cesarea. On the 24th they arrived at Jaffa, having with them about a thousand men, who had been wounded at the siege of Acre, and who occupied all the means of transport in their possession. These men with the sick in the hospitals of Jaffa were sent by sea, with orders to make the best of their way to Damietta. At this time, the Plague raged in the French hospitals, and every day five or six died victims to it. Those who were the strongest amongst the sick, were sent out first, and as soon as a boat was laden, it proceeded on, and the last boat contained those, of whose recovery there was very little hope. Napoleon gave orders for the army to depart the 27th of May, and on the 26th, according to his usual custom, sent one of his aid-de-camps * to visit the hospitals and stores, in order to be perfectly satisfied that his orders had been strictly carried into execution. The aid-de-camp reported to him that the whole had been evacuated, with the exception of seven men, of whose recovery the medical officers despaired, and who could not be moved; inasmuch, as they would infect with the plague whoever approached them; that some of those unfortunate wretches, on perceiving that they were abandoned to their fate in this manner, had loudly demanded death, with lamentable cries, representing, that the Turks, upon their arrival, would practice unheard-of cruelties upon them—(in fact, it was customary for those barbarous monsters to cut off

* This aide-de-camp was Lavalette.

'les partes,' the nose, and scoop out the eyes of those who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands). The surgeons on duty at the hospital, had demanded authority from the aid-de-camp to gratify their desires, by giving them (at the last moment) opium; stating, that it was inhuman and horrible to abandon those men in such a manner, and that the maxim, "do as you would that others should do unto you," ought to be put in practice. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon ordered the chief physician Desgenettes, and the chief surgeon, Laweg, to be called, in order to ascertain if there was not still some possibility of sending away the above-mentioned unfortunate men, and recommended, that they should be put on horseback and the horses be led—offering for that purpose his own saddle-horses; but the physician declared this to be impossible, and added, that the men had not twenty-four hours longer to live. They moreover stated, that in the course of their consultation touching the possibility of sending them away, they had deliberated upon the propriety of giving them opium, but that Desgenettes had been of opinion, that as his profession was to cure, he could not possibly authorize such a measure. Upon this, Napoleon delayed the departure of the army for twenty-four hours. Nothing was urgent; he was master of all the country, and Djezzar Pacha had not stirred out of Acre. A rear-guard of three hundred cavalry did not leave the town until four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, forty-eight hours after the visit of the aid-de-camp to the hospital, and not until the seven sick men were reported to be all dead. This circumstance, which has been so much misrepresented, is in reality a proof of his humanity and care towards his troops, who, in return, are stated to have invariably considered him as their father; and probably, no other general ever possessed in so eminent a degree the affections of his soldiers.

I shall now speak to you concerning the rumour, which had been circulated and believed amongst us, of our countryman Wright, although so much has been already said upon the subject that I think it scarcely merits a serious discussion now. "What interest," said Bertrand when I asked him for some explanation, "what interest could the monarch of a great empire have in putting to death a poor English captain, whom he had never seen, and scarcely knew any thing about? Neither could he have caused such a crime to be committed without the judges, the gens d'armes, and the jailors, who are at present the same persons as were then there, having been privy to it. When," continued he, "Wright, in October 1805, committed suicide, Napoleon, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, had just forced the Austrian army to capitulate at Ulm, was marching upon Vienna, and was three hundred leagues distant from Paris. The English prisoners," added he, "detained at Verdun, were treated with great attention, and a French officer who commanded that depot having been guilty of some extortions upon them, an enquiry was in consequence ordered by the Emperor, and the culprit was so much afraid of his anger, that he committed suicide."

From the same authority I obtained a curious anecdote of Kleber. After the battle of Heliopolis, and the re-capture of Cairo, in the months of March, April, and May, 1800, Kleber imposed a contribution of ten millions of francs upon that city. The Cheick Saddah, descended from one of the relations of the prophet, and a person very much revered in the East, was taxed a very considerable sum, which he refused to pay. Although the disinclination of the Cheick towards the French was well known, Napoleon had always humoured, and even flattered him, for which he had been frequently blamed by several persons in the army. It happened, that

the Saddah had been guilty of some impertinence, for which Kleber caused him to be seized and conducted to the citadel, where he was punished by being bastinadoed with a stick, according to the custom of the country. In consequence of this, a great uproar prevailed through the city, the *Ulemas* were extremely indignant at such treatment having been practiced. Some weeks afterwards, a man named Soliman, a native of Aleppo, was sent from Gaza by the Aga, who was with the Grand Vizir, in order to wage the "*Sacred War*" against Kleber. This man took up his abode at the mosque of Gemil-Azaar, and it has been ascertained that the Cheicks were aware of his intentions, but that being offended by the treatment which had been inflicted upon the Cheick Saddah, they made no opposition to it. The assassin taking advantage of the moment that Kleber was walking in the garden, in the *Place Elléquier*, presented a petition to him, and while he was reading it, plunged a randjar into his bowels; he was tried and executed, as well as four Cheicks his accomplices. Previous to this several individuals had been sent in 1798 and 99, by Djezzar Pacha, to wage the "*Sacred War*" against Napoleon; but as the latter was greatly favoured by the Cheicks, they opposed it, and consequently saved his life. I have heard several interesting anecdotes concerning this, but my letter is already too long, suffice it therefore to say, that he was twice indebted for his life, to the respect which he paid to the customs, privileges, manners, and religion of the country.

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER IX

Cape of Good Hope,
1st of July, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

In his eighth letter, Mr. Warden has been very inaccurate indeed. The greater part of his statement is incorrect; for example, it is impossible, that for two years, the French army could be kept in ignorance, of their being attacked by the plague. It certainly was concealed from them during the first month, by asserting, that the prevailing malady in the hospitals was a fever, accompanied with buboes, which gave time to accustom them to the name of plague, which last denomination carried with it terror and consternation to the highest pitch. A general in chief, moreover, never visits the hospitals daily, more particularly those infected with contagious distempers, and Napoleon less frequently than any other person; and if he did *once* at Jaffa, touch the buboes of those infected with the plague, it was merely for the moment, and under particular circumstances.

I was present at Longwood, when about twenty ladies and gentlemen who had arrived from India, were presented, amongst them Sir W. Burroughs, Sir H. and Lady Damel, Messrs. Strange and Arbuthnot, whom he received very courteously and cordially. It is true, he took no notice of the governor's invitation to dinner, probably because he invited General Bonaparte, to which name he never answers, and also, without doubt, because Plantation-house was out of the limits.

I have often enquired, whether Napoleon was acquainted with the prodigious number of libels, which in 1814, and even now inundate Europe, concerning him. I have been informed by Bertrand, that at Elba, he received them regularly by way of Leghorn; that he read all those which were written in French or Italian; and that he was in the habit of conversing gaily about their contents at dinner, or whilst walking; and used to observe, that he had just learned that he had poisoned, or assassinated such and such a person, beaten, ill-treated or violated such and such women. The proverb, "the truth only offends," said Bertrand, was verified; that moreover these libels were advantageous to him, that the effect of them in France had only been to increase the number of his friends, and to increase their sentiments in his favour; at the same time, they were well adapted to deceive the French government, and lull them into a false security—in fact, when Châteaubriand* said, that the tyrant was abhorred by all classes of citizens—by every one bearing the name of a Frenchman, the Bourbons conceived that they could with impunity violate all the conditions of the treaty of Fontainebleau, that there was no sort of necessity for putting themselves upon their guard against whatever a man so universally execrated might attempt. In

* François René Auguste, Vicomte de Châteaubriand (1768–1848) was born at St. Malo. During the French Revolution he was travelling over the American Continent, visiting Washington, seeing the Canadian lakes, interviewing the Indians. Returning to France during the wars of the Republic, he emigrated and became a soldier in Condé's army. He was residing in England when he wrote much of "Le Génie du Christianisme," but completed it on his return to France in 1800. Napoleon, as First Consul, appointed him secretary to the Embassy at Rome, but the execution of the Duc d'Enghien alienated Châteaubriand from Napoleon, and he was long an exile from Paris. His revenge came when the Allies entered Paris in 1814, and he wrote "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons." He was Ambassador to Berlin in 1821, and to London in 1822, and was Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1823–24, but his last years were embittered by constant strife with Napoleon's successors. He died in 1848.

this point of view, libellers, such as I have just mentioned to you, are stated to have greatly assisted the operations of 1815, and it was discovered, said Las Cases, "that this *Nero*, who had not even the courage to dispatch himself, who was abhorred by the people, and the army, was the idol of the nation; that he was adored in the hearts of thirty millions of people; that he manifested a courage unknown in history, by presenting himself alone at the head of a thousand men to *attack the king of France;* that he had only to *shew* himself when in *twenty* days every one rallied round him; and that in a few weeks he re-organised armies with which he struggled against *combined Europe.* A million of the chosen warriors of Europe were put in motion and directed against France. The destinies of the world were again put in suspense; and, victorious at Waterloo, as the profound combinations displayed by him, promised he should be, the Russian and Austrian armies which were still at the other side of the Rhine would have been but of little consequence."

I asked Count Montholon, "Who is this Châteaubriand?" He informed me that the man had resided in America, during part of the period of his emigration; that he had returned to France in 1801, availing himself of the amnesty, and had taken the requisite oaths. His work upon "Le Génie du Christianisme" made then a considerable noise; but that Napoleon, accustomed to consider religion in a political point of view, and as it applied to the government of men, did not appear at all interested about a work, in which religion is only considered in a literary point of view and as an amusement. The Princess Eliza obtained for Châteaubriand, the situation of secretary of legation under Cardinal Fesch, who was appointed ambassador at Rome. It did not then form part of the policy of the French government, to employ pardoned emigrants, and therefore

Châteaubriand was extremely grateful, and his praises and thanks for it knew no bounds. Arrived at Rome, he endeavoured to get forward; he hoped as author of the "Genie du Christianisme," to be received with distinction in the capital of the Christian world; but he was repulsed every where; the prelates, the cardinals, the Pope, equally inveighed against him; and instead of receiving the laurel of the Capitol, the Inquisition, if it had been then in power, would have reserved a place for him in the next Auto da Fé! as the author of a book making a sport of religion. Some time afterwards, he was guilty of a piece of inconsistency, which might indeed, be called treason, and which brought down upon him the anger of his master. The former king of Sardinia, after having abdicated, lived at Rome, entirely devoted to religious practices, and enjoyed a pension of one hundred thousand francs, which France paid to him. His brother (the present King of Sardinia) had neglected, probably through want of means, to pay him the allowance which he had reserved to himself. Châteaubriand bethought himself of paying him a visit secretly and in disguise, and in a wheedling and mysterious manner broke out into complaints against the violence, which he said had been employed in obliging him to descend from the throne. When the old king found out that the person who held such language to him was the secretary of the French legation, he became extremely indignant; and conceiving him with reason to be a spy, got rid of him as speedily as possible; in fact, he turned him out of doors, and a few days afterwards, having occasion to write to Napoleon complained of the insidious step, fearing that there was some intention of disturbing him in his repose, in the abode he had chosen for himself at Rome. The old king was, however, soon assured of the contrary by the disgrace and recall of Châteaubriand. He was afterwards ap-

pointed one of the Institute in place of Chenier, and in the discourse he made upon his reception, he pronounced a most unprecedented and fulsome eulogium upon the Emperor. He is reputed to be a man possessed of no religion, greatly deranged in his circumstances, and immoderately addicted to women.

I spoke to Count de Las Cases, about a book entitled "Secret Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte," by "a man who had never quitted him for fifteen years." I was soon convinced, as, indeed, I had before suspected it to be, that this title had been trumped up by some bookseller to create dupes, and that the author of it was totally ignorant of every thing which took place at the court of the Tuileries, and of Napoleon's habits; that he had probably never entered the walls of the palace, at least, never attended any assembly or levee in them; that he did not know the distribution of the apartments, that, in fact, the work was a contemptible romance, in which even the names of the persons described in it were frequently mere fictions.

The information I have been able to collect with respect to the Abbé Pradt, is as follows: The Abbé Pradt emigrated, and afterwards availed himself of the amnesty, and returned to France. Being without any means whatsoever of procuring subsistence, he addressed himself to the *police*, and was amply recompensed for the services which he rendered to them. It was some time, however, before he was able to succeed in getting admittance to the ruler of France; but having insinuated himself into the good graces of Duroc, the grand marshal, whose relation he pretended to be, through the protection of this favourite, he was appointed almoner of the chapel, and took the customary oaths required of all the household—he was also made Bishop of Poitiers, and afterwards archbishop of Mechlin. During the council of Paris, Napoleon frequently

detained him at his levees in order to converse with him upon affairs concerning the priests. Ambitious and intriguing, he availed himself of this, in order to increase his intimacy, and under colour of exalted zeal, he informed his master of numberless circumstances, which passed in the societies of the capital, where his acquaintance was very extensive. The Bishops of Nantes and Treves, the Archbishop of Tours, and the primate of Venice, were appointed by the council of the bishops of France and Italy to proceed and meet the Pope at Savona, and the Duke of Rovigo asked permission to add the Archbishop of Mechlin to them. This met with great opposition, and produced remonstrances from the bishops. It was, in fact, associating one of the most disreputable bishops in Christendom with four of the most respectable prelates in it; but, however, as it was a matter of great importance, to be informed of every thing which was said and done there, he was appointed. His conduct towards the Pope at Savona was, however, marked with so much levity that his colleagues were frequently obliged to remind him of the decency and respect due to a sovereign, and especially to one who was also the chief of his religion. He was afterwards employed to observe the affairs of Spain. In 1812, he went to Dresden with the post of almoner. The Duke of Bassano being desirous of having the Baron de Bignon (who was then at Warsaw) with him at Wilna, proposed, two days before his departure from Dresden, that the Abbé de Pradt should replace him. His easy manner appeared well calculated to render him a very proper person for a place where the ladies have so much influence. He was known to possess some talent, address, a great desire to please, and must have been conscious that success was necessary to ensure his preferment. Nevertheless, Napoleon hesitated to entrust to a pardoned emigrant, a man who, until then, had been only

employed by the government in clandestine and subordinate affairs, with a brilliant and most confidential situation; but finally, the recommendation of Duroc prevailed, who said that the Archbishop's mitre would make up for every thing, particularly in a country where the prelates were in the habit of filling the principal employments, and that his conduct at Mechlin could not leave a doubt as to the nature of his sentiments, and his attachment to the government. Our *almoner's* conduct, however, when arrived at Warsaw, was a complete series of follies—he took a wrong turn at every step, and his conduct and writings, rendered him the contempt of the Poles of all parties. As Napoleon returned from his disastrous campaign on Moscow, he staid three hours at Warsaw, where he heard nothing but complaints about him. He was even accused of treachery by thirty different persons; and by the most moderate of incapacity, it was evident that he had not the talent necessary for the business he was entrusted with. When he was introduced into the presence of his master, he went on in his usual inconsiderate way, and gave loose to his customary *mania* of talking about war. Napoleon, extremely fatigued, at first returned him no answer, but listened with coolness to his nonsense; at last, losing patience, he took up a card which was lying upon the chimney-piece, and wrote upon it with a pencil, the following words: "Write to the Duc of Bassano that on his way through Warsaw he is to send this coxcomb back to Paris." (Faites une lettre au Duc de Bassano pour qu'à son passage par Varsovie, il renvoye ce freluquet à Paris.) This card he gave to Caulaincourt, who was present, and immediately, in presence of the Abbé, sat down to write the letter.

After Napoleon's return, in March, 1815, all his detractors imagining him to be burning with revenge, fled from Paris; they were, however, mistaken. He

was under too many obligations to them to be inclined to do them any harm, and they regained their situations. Lavatelle resumed the duties of his station at the Lyceum. Pichon was employed on a secret mission to London, &c. The Abbé de Pradt took a step quite conformable to the effrontery of the man—he sent Napoleon a memorial filled with invectives against the Bourbons, and the ministers who had turned him out of the grand chancellorship of the legion of honour. This memorial he accompanied with a letter, in which he explained his conduct by saying, *that outwardly he had had the appearance of having changed, but, that in his heart, he had been always faithful to his benefactor, and to the prince who was the choice of the nation!*" and concluded with begging to be again appointed to his situation in the chapel. "Oh c'est trop," said Napoleon—"quel misérable!" "At that period," continued the relator of the above anecdote "although there were many offences to revenge, and treacheries to punish, nobody was rendered uneasy. The Duke d'Angoulême was made prisoner at the Pont Saint Esprit; in the Moniteur you will find the handsome letter which saved his life. Vitrolles who had been one of the agents of the allied powers, in 1814, and who afterwards was at the head of the government of the south, (under the Duke d'Angoulême) was arrested at Toulouse by General Laborde—he was one of the few excepted in the amnesty, and consequently liable to be shot in four and twenty hours—but not a drop of blood was shed in this memorable revolution, neither in the field of battle, to turn the Bourbons and their partizans out of France, nor by the hands of justice to revenge past offences, which," said he, "forms a striking contrast with the conduct pursued by Louis the XVIIIth, *who violated the capitulation of Paris, and filled France with scaffolds and proscriptions.*"

All the king's ministers solicited their pardon. Clarke,

Duke of Feltre,* implored the indulgence of his old master, who replied, that he would not see him, but that he might retire to his estate, where he would enjoy the protection of the amnesty. It was in virtue of this answer that he passed the frontiers. Old Barentin,† the chancellor of France, took the oaths, and the vice-chancellor d'Ambray, quitted the king, and retired to his estates in Normandy, from whence he wrote several letters containing protestations of his submission to the imperial government.

I have been assured by Napoleon's most confidential officer, that after the Champ de Mai, the greater part of the king's house of peers begged to be admitted members of the new house. "For," said he, "it was the opinion of the French, even of those who had enjoyed the most important situations under the royal government, that the true government was the one chosen by the people, and *not* that imposed by foreigners. I have read," continued he, "the speeches of the ultra-royalists; they certainly declaim with great violence; there is not one of them, however, whom Napoleon has not restored to his native land; whom he has not rescued from the miseries of exile, and who is not more or less indebted to *him* for the fortune which he enjoys. There is not one of them who did not submit to the conditions of the amnesty, and take whatever oaths were required, and the greatest number of them, had abandoned for ten or fifteen years, the man they now call master. There is not among the present judges, one who would

* Henri Jacques Guillaume Clarke, Duc de Feltre (1765–1818), was born at Landrecies, of Irish origin. He was charged by the Directory to report on the conduct of Bonaparte during the first Italian campaign. He assisted at the Treaty of Campo Formio, was Minister for War from 1807 to 1814, and again held that office under Louis XVIII.

† Charles Louis François Barentin (1738–1819) played an important part at the beginning of the French Revolution, but emigrated very early. He returned to France in Napoleon's Consulate. Louis XVIII. made him his Chancellor in 1814. His book "Mémoire Autographe de M. de Barentin sur les derniers conseils du roi Louis XVI.," was published in 1844.

not have pronounced sentence of death against any of the princes of the House of Bourbon, who had violated the prohibition against entering France," continued he, "nor a single citizen, who, sworn upon their juries, would not have condemned them to the pain of death."

I asked, what became of Marshal St. Cyr and the Duke of Reggio when the king was out of France? "Both one and the other," replied he, "took the oath of fidelity to Napoleon in April 1815; both were extremely assiduous in their attendance at the Tuileries; both dined at court, and both endeavoured to be employed in the campaign of 1815." But, said I, how came it that *that Duke of Reggio*, called by the Bourbons their *Bayard*; that St. Cyr, who is their minister of war, did not follow their master to Ghent? this surprises me. "Because," replied he, "No Frenchman in his heart acknowledges the Bourbons as legitimate sovereigns. Even the Duke of Ragusa, if he had not been excepted from the amnesty, would have remained in France, and never passed the frontier. This is the religion of the French; national opinion is decidedly pronounced upon it. Are you," continued he, "desirous of having an idea of the spirit which animates the French? Suppose, for example, that a million of Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Germans, Dutch, French, Spaniards and Portugueze, seconded by a few traitors, who, under pretence of serving the *Stuarts*, should have joined them, had inundated England and crowned a *Stuart* in London, first marching over the bodies of thousands of the brave defenders of their country, who had gloriously fallen in the struggle for independence! What pray would be your feelings for such a king, imposed upon you by the wrath of an enemy? Such feelings," added he, "as in that case you *would* have, be assured, the French *now possess!*"

I have the honor,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER X

Cape of Good Hope.
5th June, 1817.

MY DEAR LADY C.

I hope you will be satisfied with the eagerness I have shewn, in gratifying your curiosity, and in making you acquainted with the truth of the different objects which have struck you in the course of Doctor Warden's work. Indeed, I may say, that the labour of it has not been great, as, for a length of time, I have been occupied in collecting the materials, which chance has afforded, by throwing some most valuable documents into my hands.

This letter will conclude the series. You wish to be made acquainted with whatever occurrences may have taken place since July 1816. The task is a very painful one. I have already explained to you in my fifth letter, in what manner matters were arranged, and, although everything was not quite so well as could have been wished, Plantation-House not being allotted them, nor the liberty of the whole of the little rock, yet still they were treated with attention and regard, and received whoever they thought proper. Napoleon had it in his power to amuse himself occasionally with the society of the inhabitants, of the officers of the army and navy, and also with that of a great number of strangers who arrived; a great resource, especially to Madame Bertrand. Since that period, every thing has been changed; they scarcely receive any person, and no longer go out. It is impossible for me to go into minute details, they

would be excessively afflicting to an Englishman, and which, if known, would excite a general feeling of indignation. In order, however, not to leave you entirely in the dark, I will relate to you such general details as my memory furnishes me.

Three commissioners, Austrian, French and Russian arrived at St. Helena on the 17th of June, 1816, in the *Newcastle* and *Orontes* frigates, along with Admiral Malcolm.* Some weeks after this, the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, announced their arrival at Longwood, and communicated the treaty of the 2d of August 1815, concluded between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. It appears that Count Montholon was ordered to protest against the treaty, which he accordingly did in a letter, comprising a declaration that Napoleon was not the prisoner of England: that after his abdication he came freely and voluntarily to England, with a view of living there as a private individual under the protection of the British laws; that the violation of those laws, could not constitute a right; that although his person was actually in the power of the English nation, yet he never had been, nor was he then, in the power of either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, which states, consequently, had neither in fact, or in right, any controul over him; that it exhibited only the coalition of the four greatest powers of Europe, for the oppression of one man. It also stated the different treatment, which, in all probability, Napoleon would have experienced, had he been either in the power of Austria, Russia, or even Prussia, and the erroneous ideas he had formed of the influence of the opinion of a great, generous, and free people over their government, which

* The Austrian Commissioner was Baron von Sturmer, the French was the Marquis de Montchénu, and the Russian was the Comte de Balmain. Sir Pulteney Malcolm (1768–1838) was Commander-in-Chief on the St. Helena station in 1816–17.

had induced him to prefer the protection of their laws to that of a father-in-law or an old friend; that he always had had it in his power to secure every point which regarded himself, either by putting himself at the head of the army of the Loire or that of the Gironde; but that wishing for nothing but retirement he had conceived all stipulations unnecessary, and that they would be more bound by this conduct on his part, so noble, frank, and full of confidence, than by the most solemn treaty. It also alluded to the uselessness of the mission of the above-named commissioners, who, it appeared, had no right to interfere in what was going on in the island; and complained of the hardship he experienced in being sent to a rock two thousand leagues from Europe in a climate most inimical to his health, and which was rendered still worse by the restrictions imposed by the new governor in prohibiting all communication with the inhabitants or even the officers, and making Longwood a close prison. It also complained of the unnecessary hardship they experienced in being deprived of any other newspaper than a few straggling copies of the Times; of books, sent by their authors, not having been allowed to reach Longwood; of letters unsealed having been given to the governor, for the purpose of being sent to persons at Longwood, but which had not been communicated by him, because they had not come through the channel of the English ministry; of the impossibility of communication by letter in consequence of the forms they were obliged to go through, and of the general tenor of the restrictions, which, it was alledged, could have no other object in view than that of shortening Napoleon's life; of the badness of the situation at Longwood, devoid of water and shade, until Admiral Malcolm caused a tent to be erected by his sailors; and suggesting the propriety of having placed him in the first instance at

Plantation-House. It concluded with an answer to a demand made by the governor of ten or twelve thousand pounds yearly from Napoleon in addition to the eight thousand pounds allowed yearly by the British government; and stated that Napoleon was willing to pay the whole of the expences himself, provided he was allowed communication with bankers, without being subject to any inquisition on the part of the governor or any of his myrmidons.

It appears that Lord Bathurst, in one of his letters settled the expences of *Longwood* at *eight thousand* yearly, out of which *five hundred* pounds a year was to be paid to the purveyor for salary; *five hundred* pounds more for the carriage of provisions from the town to Longwood; *seven hundred and thirty* pounds for the orderly officers and surgeon at Longwood; and *one thousand* pounds for the expence of repairing the house, which is old and in need of continual repairs: making in all *two thousand seven hundred and thirty pounds* and leaving *five thousand two hundred and seventy* pounds for the other expences of the establishment, which, considering the enormous price of every article of life in St. Helena, might be equal to about *one thousand* pounds a year in England. The governor, however, conceived with good reason, that this sum was altogether insufficient, and deeming *nineteen or twenty thousand* pounds a year necessary, he required of General Montholon, by a letter dated the 17th of August, the difference between that sum and *eight thousand* pounds a year allowed by the government; to which a reply was made in the above-mentioned letter, and notwithstanding the addition of *four thousand* pounds a year made by the governor, all the provisions were reduced in quantity; three French domestics, who were extremely useful, were discharged; and Napoleon, wanting wherewith to purchase articles of provisions, of which so scanty an allowance was made that the maitre d'hotel declared,

that there was not enough by one third, ordered his plate to be broken up, and sold to the value of one thousand pounds; and I have been informed that eight or nine hundred pounds more of it, in value, is destined for the same purpose. I have myself seen this plate, which was extremely handsome and the workmanship of it was worth more than four times the intrinsic value. Every body wished to get a morsel of it, and several of the captains of the Indiamen offered ten times the value, in order to have an entire piece.*

The commissioners were not introduced at Longwood, although, it is said, that Napoleon, in refusing to receive them as commissioners, had nevertheless consented to receive them as strangers, and in a way similar to those with which he received others. Upon this subject, it is supposed, that Sir Hudson Lowe and the commissioners, have written to their respective governments, and still wait their instructions.

Shortly after this, Napoleon addressed a letter to Count Las Cases, a little before the latter went to the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that Las Cases had entrusted to a native of the island, who intended to go to England, a letter for a lady in London, containing complaints against the governor. I have been informed, however, by persons, who have seen the letter in the governor's possession, that there was nothing in it which might not have been publicly written.

* To the honour of Admiral Cockburn, it ought to be known that on his return to England he represented the *inadequacy of the allowance for the decent maintenance of Napoleon and his numerous suite;* and declared *Napoleon would be obliged to sell his plate to defray the unavoidable expence of his establishment.* This anecdote we have from *official* sources, and *we can affirm* its authenticity. Napoleon shewed he possessed dignity and good feeling in the sale of plate, which became a splendid reproach, when those who followed his fortunes, were suffering hardships which its produce might diminish. Lord Bathurst obtained a triumphant vote in parliament; but the honor of the country cannot be redeemed by misrepresentation.—*Translator's Note.*

I have not been able to obtain the whole of Napoleon's letter but I furnish you with as much of it as my memory affords. In it, he expresses his regret "at the treatment Las Cases had experienced in being dragged away from Longwood, and put in close confinement for so many days, deprived of all communication; that his conduct at St. Helena had been, like the rest of his life, honorable and creditable to him; that he was authorized, by the conduct of the governor, who had reproached him for expressions which he had confided to the bosom of friendship, to take the steps which he did, in order to forward his letter to his friend, which besides contained nothing more than what had already been expressed in six or seven letters; no plot, no mystery; and was by no means sufficient to authorize the violent and blustering conduct which had taken place; that Longwood was enveloped in a veil of mystery and secrecy, which it was desired to render impenetrable, in order to conceal the conduct of a man, making the most contemptible regulations, and executing them with violence; that in the most uncivilized countries exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, were under the protection of laws and magistrates; but that in St. Helena, one man had the power to ordain and to execute without appeal; and concluded by desiring him, however necessary his society might be to himself, to return to his native country, and forget the woes which he had been made to suffer; and to embrace his (Napoleon's) wife and child for him, should be meet with them; adding, that his body was in the power of his enemies, who would omit no opportunity of wreaking their vengeance upon him, but that a just Providence would interpose, and put a speedy end to that existence, of which the last moments would reflect disgrace upon the author of his persecution."

Some time before this, Sir Hudson Lowe thought

proper to establish a new code of regulations, worthy of Botany Bay, by which he lessened the extent of the limits, formerly allowed, by about two thirds, under the idle pretence, that Napoleon had never made use of them since his arrival; and of the portion which he still allowed to remain, the *high road alone*, was to be used to the French people; they were prohibited from leaving it, to go either to the right or left, and (will Englishmen credit it?) *Napoleon and his suite were actually prohibited to speak to any such persons as he or they might meet, unless so far as the customary salutations of politeness in use amongst civilized beings!*"

Persons who might obtain a pass to visit Napoleon, were also prohibited from making use of such pass, to communicate with any others of his court unless such permission was specifically expressed in the pass; so that Napoleon, if he received a stranger, who could not speak French, was not, according to this silly and affronting regulation, authorised to call upon Las Cases or any other of his attendants to interpret! Sentinels were placed round the garden at sunset, in such a manner as to preclude Napoleon's taking exercise in it, at the only time that such can be done with pleasure in a tropical climate, (particularly at Longwood, which is totally void of shade,) without being exposed to the prying gaze and idle curiosity of his keepers; during the day another centinel was posted in a situation from whence he could observe whatever was going on in the garden, in such a manner, that even in the day, he could not stir out, without being subject to the inspection of private soldiers; and in a letter to Bertrand, every communication, even verbal, with the inhabitants, was prohibited.

It appears that after these restrictions had been put in execution, Napoleon declared, "that conceiving all laws, and every consideration of respect towards him were violated, he had refused to receive the governor

again, regarding him in no other light than that of a turnkey."

It is to be lamented, that Sir Hudson Lowe should have been instigated to measures so absurdly violent, so wantonly severe, and so completely in contradiction to what had been asserted in parliament. But the advocates of ministers argue, that if these had approved of the regulations which had been in force for nine months, and had not ordered any new restrictions, in that case the governor must have acted from his own authority; and if so, certainly in a way that reflects but little honour upon him, and wholly unjustifiable.

As you observe, the discussion of the bill occupied a considerable degree of attention, and great difference of opinion was expressed about it. Some, in criticising it, declared it to be framed with a harshness without example in modern history; others blamed merely the forms and manner in which it was drawn up, and said, that the bill ought not to abandon its illustrious object to arbitrary power, but ought to have established certain limits to the right of imposing restrictions; but all agreed in saying, that, First, according to the contents of that bill, the restrictions should be deliberated upon by a council of the ministers, and not made and unmade by Lord Bathurst alone; Secondly, that the governor of St. Helena, ought only to be empowered to execute *such* restrictions and not to have the right of establishing new ones, by his own authority; Thirdly, that a council, composed of the governor, the admiral, the general officers, colonels in the army, and captains in the navy, who might be in the island, ought to be formed, for the purpose of hearing the complaints of the French officers and domestics, and to be made acquainted with every thing which concerned them; Fourthly, this council ought to be charged to make themselves acquainted, with what circumstances re-

quired, the restrictions to be put in practice. By these means, our government would never have to dread the inconveniences inseparable from arbitrary power. *One* man may be capricious, passionate, hasty, and cruel, and prone to abuse authority confided to his arbitrary will. Is not the meanest soldier in a regiment, the meanest sailor in a ship, or the lowest slave, under the protection of magistrates, tribunals, forms of law, known to the public, and to the constitution?

Every feeling mind agreed also, that it never could have been the intention of either the parliament, or the nation, to impose useless restrictions; that to insult an illustrious enemy at our mercy, was to insult the nation itself; and that the restrictions ought to have but one object in view, namely, that of preventing his escape from St. Helena. Now, if this is true, five sixths of the restrictions which have been imposed are purely vexatious, without use, and contrary to the will of the nation. It is difficult to conceive also, why the ministers refused to allow the governor the sum which he thought necessary and had required, viz. £20,000, yearly; it certainly ought to have been furnished, and the prisoner's plate ought not to have been accepted. This last was brought up by order of the governor, who, in that, had, without doubt, a political reason, probably, to prevent its being purchased piecemeal, to be preserved as precious relics, which every one knew would have been the case. His predecessor had regulated the expenses in a manner that they had, I believe, amounted to about £17,000 a year.

Finally, the detention of Napoleon at Saint Helena, costs about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year to the treasury, to maintain a lieutenant general as governor, a brigadier general, a numerous staff, battalions of artillery, and of the line, a powerful squadron, &c. &c. and besides these expences, the restrictions

which are imposed upon ships cramp the trade with India, and occasion losses much more considerable than the expences themselves: and for what purpose? that Napoleon may enjoy a greater degree of liberty in his confinement? He would be much better off confined in a house in England or Scotland than in St. Helena, with the liberty of the whole island; because, in the first place the climate of the tropics cannot be compared in any place with that of Europe; and that of St. Helena is destructive to health, witness the great number of deaths in the sixth regiment in a very short space of time. In the next place, food even barely fit for use is with difficulty procured at St. Helena. Spend as many thousands as you will, it is still impossible to accomplish what you wish, the provisions necessary to life are often bad and damaged. In fact, that which a respectable citizen of London would consider indispensable to his table, is not to be had in St. Helena. In a prison in England newspapers can be had, and a library, and the prisoners are allowed to hear of their relations frequently. At St. Helena, they are deprived of almost everything. It is true, that about fifteen hundred volumes have been sent out to them; but fifteen hundred volumes are very insufficient for people, reduced to make letters and the sciences their comfort; even twenty thousand volumes would not compensate the advantage of having in Europe in forty-eight hours whatever books might be wanted. Finally, in England they would know of their relations and friends, which at St. Helena is nearly impossible. Counts Bertrand and Montholon assured me, that for several months they had not received a line, and could not attend to the affairs of their families and other private concerns.

In consequence of the new restrictions, Napoleon for several months did not stir out of his apartments; that is to say, out of four small badly constructed, un-

wholesome rooms, or out of a house an equal to which, in badness, it would be difficult to find all over England: it is therefore to confine him within four walls under our tropical sun that our treasury expends more than twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, and that our commerce experiences so much detriment.

During the first ten months I had every facility of going to Longwood, but in October it was very difficult to obtain leave. It was necessary first to undergo a long examination as to the nature of your business. In December, I obtained, after many difficulties, a new pass to go there. I saw Madame Bertrand, who complained bitterly of not being able to see any body, and of even the society of the English officers being prohibited. I saw also General Gourgaud, with whom I conversed for a long time; he appeared very much surprized at the new system of treatment they experienced. I could not succeed in seeing Napoleon, who had not received any one or even stirred out of the house.

One of his suite told me, that their prospect was so much darkened, and their situation so much changed for the worse since the departure of Admiral Cockburn, that Napoleon had observed that being at St. Helena was not the worst of their miseries, and that the choice of the abode was no longer the worst torment which had been put in execution against him; adding that there was nothing English in the manner in which he was treated, that it resembled more the police of Sicily.

All feeling and reasonable people agree that the precautions lately put in practice are unjust, ridiculous, even oppressive to the military who execute them, and that by carefully guarding the outlets of the ravines leading towards the sea-side, following Napoleon by signals whenever he went into the interior of the island, and guarding the sea-coast in the manner now practiced, by boats and brigs, every point in regard to safe cus-

tody would be attained with the greatest possible simplicity and success, which is all that human prudence and wisdom can require under such circumstances.

Farewell, my dear Lady C——. I could tell much more upon this subject, which would both surprize and grieve you. The spectacle of persecution and injustice has been always revolting to me. You may judge then, what I felt, when I beheld the victor of sixty great battles, once the arbiter of many nations and their rulers, thus basely tormented. I said within myself, "I respect thee with the crown of thorns that force has now placed on thy brow, even more than when numerous diadems encircled it."

I have the honour,

&c. &c. &c.

III

NAPOLEON IN ST. HELENA

BY

THEODORE HOOK.

A NOTE ON THEODORE HOOK

THE author of "Facts Illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte in St. Helena" made a considerable noise in the world, but none of it seems to have been due to this now very rare work which we are reprinting. The book was, as we shall discover, a most truculent reply to the "Letters from the Cape," by one who had been in St. Helena. It was anonymous, but it is now generally recognised to be the work of Hook. Indeed, as we shall see, he had every reason to make that fact known to the authorities. The little octavo volume was published by Stockdale in 1819. This Stockdale, we may mention incidentally, was the son of a more famous publisher and the nephew of Ridgway, whose imprint is given upon the "Letters from the Cape." The now extinct publishers who flourished in their day upon the Napoleonic literature of the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, would of themselves make a good book.

But here we are only concerned with Theodore Hook, whose pamphlet was clearly only written to curry favour with the powers that be. From this point of view it certainly failed of its object. Judging by the few copies that are known to exist, the book probably attracted no attention. The *Quarterly Review* article upon "Letters from the Cape" would seem to have given the public all that it required in the way of vitriolic personality, and, in any case, by 1819 the reaction in favour of Napoleon had almost arrived.

Before discussing his least-known book, let us first

take a glance at the man Hook. His name is still very well remembered through the variety and the cruelty of his practical jokes, by the kindness which everyone feels for a punster, and by virtue of the fact that any literary reputation, once established, is not easily killed. Let us note, in this connexion, the circumstance that even so late as 1902 the firm of Chatto and Windus published a new edition of "The Choice Humorous Works of Theodore Hook." Hook was born on September 22nd, 1788, in Charlotte Street, Bedford Square. He was partly educated at Harrow, and was there at the same time as Lord Byron, at whose instigation it was, he asserts, that immediately upon his arrival he threw a stone at a window where an elderly lady, Mrs. Drury, was undressing; and we are told by the loyal biographer that though the window was broken the lady happily escaped unhurt. There is no evidence whatever, apart from Hook's own statement, that Theodore Hook and Byron ever spoke to one another. Hook left school very early, and at sixteen he began his career as a playwright, with the vulgar and insufferable kind of patter which seems to have been tolerated on the stage in those days, work by the side of which the modern writer of musical comedy and comic opera produces high-class literature. It is in this connection that we have Byron's one reference to Hook:

> "Gods! o'er those boards shall folly rear her head,
> Whom Garrick trod, and Kemble lives to tread?
> On those shall Farce display buffoonery's mask,
> And Hook conceal his heroes in a cask?"

In 1809 he himself appeared on the stage, but seems to have met with no success as an actor. During this period occurred many of the frolics that are associated with his name, one of the best-known being concerned with a Highlander who stood in wooden glory at the front of a tobacconist's shop. Many of us remember when

these were numerous; happily one or two still remain in London. One foggy night Hook and one of his friends coming upon one of these wooden Highlanders, threw a cloak over him, placed a high hat on his plumed brow, then called a hackney coach, placed the Highlander inside, with an apology to the jarvey, "My friend—very respectable man, but a little tipsy," and what was the ultimate fate of the driver and his fare history does not tell. Another example is mentioned by Barham in a note to the "Ingoldsby Legends." Hook is seated next to an old lady at the trial of Lord Melville:

"'Pray, sir, what gentlemen are these?' said the lady, pointing to the bishops, who came next in order, in the dress which they wear on State occasions, viz. the scarlet and lawn sleeves over their doctors' robes. 'Gentlemen, ma'am!' said Hook; 'these are not gentlemen; these are *ladies*, elderly ladies—the Dowager Peeresses in their own right.' The fair inquirer fixed a penetrating glance upon his countenance, saying as plainly as an eye can say, 'Are you quizzing me or no?' Not a muscle moved, till at last, tolerably satisfied with her scrutiny, she turned round and whispered: 'Louisa, dear, the gentleman *says* that these are elderly ladies and Dowager Peeresses in their own right; tell Jane not to forget *that!*' All went on smoothly till the Speaker of the House of Commons attracted her attention by the rich embroidery of his robes. 'Pray, sir,' said she, 'and who is that fine-looking person opposite?' 'That, madam,' was the answer, 'is Cardinal Wolsey!' 'No, sir!' cried the lady, drawing herself up and casting at her informant a look of angry disdain. 'We knows a little better than that. Cardinal Wolsey has been dead many a good year!' 'No such thing, my dear madam, I assure you,' replied Hook, with a gravity that must have been almost preternatural. 'It has been, I know, so reported in the country, but without the least foundation. In fact, those rascally newspapers will say anything.' The good old gentlewoman appeared thunderstruck, opened her eyes to their full extent, and gasped like a dying carp—*vox faucibus hæsit*—seizing a daughter with each hand, she hurried, without a word, from the spot."

There is an amusing episode given by his biographer, where he invited himself, a perfect stranger, to dine at a certain house, and carried off the whole affair with

enormous zest. This, no doubt, gave Mr. Anstey the germ of his capital play, *The Man from Blankley's*; but the most magnificent of all the follies for which Hook was responsible is that known as the Berners Street hoax, which was perpetrated in 1809, on which occasion hundreds of people received letters to attend at the house of a Mrs. Tottenham, at 54, Berners Street. On the day appointed coalmen arrived with their wagons, undertakers with coffins, draymen with beer barrels, forty fishmongers bearing cod and lobsters, as many butchers with an equal number of legs of mutton, and so on. The whole of this imposture was worked by Hook, although it is a form of folly that has been repeated on a small scale many times since.

Hook's first novel was entitled "The Man of Sorrow," and was written under the pseudonym of "Alfred Allendale." Up to this point Hook was not more than one-and-twenty, and we now find him commencing a brief experience at the University, being entered at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. But his academical career was not a successful one, and he went back to miscellaneous journalism and play-writing until, in 1812—by what influence it has never been stated—he was made Accountant-General and Treasurer at Mauritius, a post worth about £2,000 per annum. He sailed for Mauritius in 1813. He led a gay life there for more than four years. On March 9th, 1818, Hook was arrested, charged with peculation. There was a deficit in the money chest of about £9,000, and for this Hook was believed to be entirely responsible. He was sent back to England to take his trial. The vessel stopped at St. Helena. Here Hook met Lord Charles Somerset, who was on his way to assume the governorship of the Cape. Lord Charles, who had met him in London occasionally, and knew nothing of his arrest, said, "I hope you are not going home for your health, Mr. Hook?" "Why," said

Hook, "they think there is something wrong in the *chest*." The ship was only two days at St. Helena. It was in this period that Hook collected such facts as he provided in his pamphlet. It was through the courtesy of the officers that Hook was permitted to accompany them to Longwood to be presented to Napoleon. There is, however, no record of Hook having been actually presented, although he was lucky enough to receive from Ibbetson the sketch of Napoleon that serves for a frontispiece to this volume. It will now be seen why Hook published his truculent pamphlet. He had been accused of a great breach of trust, if nothing worse, and he was in a bad way with the Government. What could the rascal do more effectively to please them than to prove that they were doing everything that was right by Napoleon—that their distinguished prisoner, about whom so many inquiries were being made in Parliament, had no grievances. The book or pamphlet, as I have said, was a failure, and it certainly did not secure the result expected. Hook got little mercy from the Government. They did not actually send him to jail, but, for some years—even until 1825—he was never free from the possibility of it, and no salary was paid to him from the moment of his arrest onward. In the November of 1820 Hook published a newspaper, the *Arcadian*. At the end of the same year this was turned into the *John Bull*, a journal which became the joy and delight of the Tory Party of those days. Of this journal Hook was the nominal editor until his death. In successive years, simultaneously with his fierce editorship, with its thousand and one personalities, most of them in shockingly bad taste, Hook became a popular novelist. His works included three series of "Sayings and Doings," each in three volumes—nine volumes in all. These may practically be counted as volumes of short stories. They were published anonymously by Henry Colburn.

As an example of the kind of thing which gave delight to our ancestors, take the following extract from one of the stories :

"'If you are for a stroll,' said Skinner unwittingly to the strollers, 'you'll find a pleasant walk in the rookery: that is, if you don't dislike the noise.'

"'What noise, sir?' said Mrs. Fuggleston.

"'"The cause, the cause, my soul,"

as Othello says,' cried Fuggleston.

"'Exactly so,' said Skinner; 'the caws—that is what I meant.'

"'Oh dear, not I," said Mrs. Fuggleston. 'I think the sound quite romantic. It inspires a thousand indescribable feelings. And what a nice thing a rook-pie is, Mr. Skinner, with a bit of tender rump-steak in the bottom of it.'

"'Mr. Skinner has heard of chattering pyes,' replied her husband."

Much of Hook's work was of this character—no better and no worse—yet it cannot be doubted that he was one of the most successful novelists of his day, and that his fame as a writer survives into ours. In many a seaside library may you see a row of Hook's forty novels, and they are still in request. Hook published in 1832 (a second edition appeared in 1833) a "Life of Sir David Baird," the distinguished general who, with his officers and troops, received the thanks of Parliament for his gallant conduct in repulsing a superior French force before Corunna. Baird seems to have been very much the same kind of disgruntled individual as Hook, for he died a disappointed man aspiring to a peerage and only receiving a baronetcy for his services. The "Life of Baird" is dead with the rest of its author's books, and indeed it has no qualities that should have kept it alive. There is a reference to "the memorable interview between the Emperor of Russia and Buonaparte, at that time called Emperor of the French." Hook made £2,000 out of the first series of "Sayings and Doings" alone—a large

sum for that period. These were followed by "Maxwell," "Gilbert Gurney," and "Jack Bragg." We have re-read these volumes within the past few months, and one can find little to justify the stereotyped phrase of one of Hook's biographers, that he was "one of the most brilliant wits and one of the most successful novelists of this century." We are puzzled to find that he was constantly mentioned in the same breath with Dickens. The works of Dickens seem as fresh and new to-day as when they were being published in Hook's own day. The writings of Hook now seem altogether old-fashioned and trivial. Cast your eyes over the once famous "Ramsbottom Papers," collected from *John Bull*, for Hook's "Choice Humorous Works." There is the early Victorian taste for solid eating and drinking, and there is that early Victorian humour now so old-fashioned and dreary. We are introduced to such wit as a reference to the "lovely Miss Hogsflesh." Everywhere there is bad taste and, indeed, vulgarity—the bad taste which runs through all his works, his novels and his journalism alike. In a review of his "Life" by the Rev. R. H. Dalton Barham, which appeared at the end of 1848, the *Athenæum** has a word to say as to the type of journalism in which Hook excelled.

"Key-hole revelations fetched a high price; back-stairs intelligence, no matter whether true or false, was eagerly welcomed, dressed up, and promulgated—at first to terrify the culprits of May Fair and Grosvenor Square, and afterwards, when subjects grew scarcer and taste coarser, to keep in order the wretched people who presume to live and endure to be happy in the district on the desert side of Oxford Street. By degrees, there began to ooze out very exciting tales of 'hush money,' 'blackmail' ruthlessly exacted in return for the exemption of those marked out for the public service! The rise, decline, and fall of this school of literature is happily written in our Police Records and in the annals of our Law Courts."

* The *Athenæum*, December 16th, 1848.

Certainly no one who studies the journalism of which *John Bull* was the most striking example, can fail to realise that whatever the faults of our modern newspapers, they are all models of propriety compared with those associated with the attack upon the Queen of George IV. It is only in comparison with the staidness and perhaps dullness of the mid-Victorian epoch that the journalism of our day merits any condemnation, at least so far as its personal elements are concerned. Hook died in very great poverty on July 29th, 1841. One cannot but give him a word of sympathy that such gifts as he had were, on the whole, misdirected, in spite of the fact that he produced thirty-eight volumes of stories in sixteen years. From the beginning to the end of his life he was really a charlatan, unscrupulous and unreliable, carrying all off with that high-spirited but vulgar Bohemianism which made his name a pleasant tradition for a generation after his death. For our day Hook has no message, his place in literature is that of an entirely worthless person; but while his novels are one by one passing into oblivion we here reprint and restore to life his least-known book—probably the one book by him that was a failure at the time of its publication—and we do so because it is associated with the ever-interesting name of Napoleon.*

* "The Life and Remains of Theodore Edward Hook" is the only biography, the author being the Rev. R. H. Dalton Barham, who wrote the life of his father, Richard Harris Barham of "The Ingoldsby Legends." This work, published in 1848 (dated '49), is in two volumes, but the second is devoted to fragments of Hook's writings. It is a very poor biography. A much better written account of Hook is that contained in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 72, May, 1843. This is doubtless from the pen of Lockhart, and it was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form. Lockhart quotes interesting fragments from a "Diary" by Hook that has never been published. His account of Hook is an apology by a member of Hook's own party, and in no sense modifies the estimate formed above. Lockhart had much of the same offensive truculency that obtained with Hook.

FACTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TREATMENT

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE

IN

SAINT HELENA.

Being the result of minute inquiries and personal research in that Island.

WITH THREE VIEWS.

"Ogni medaglia ha il suo reverso."—PROV. ITAL.

"L'un mensonge aussi noir justement irrité
"Je devrais faire ici parler la verité."—RACINE.

"— Tell truth and shame the devil."—SHAKSPEARE.

LONDON.
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1819.

FACTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE TREATMENT OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE IN SAINT HELENA

I HAVE been induced to give publicity to the following pages, from a desire to afford my Countrymen some information on that which cannot fail to be considered an highly interesting subject: The personal attainment of such information is, to them, rendered rare and difficult by the distance at which they are, by Nature, placed from the scene and object of my little work; and if they feel as much in the cause as I do, I trust I shall be forgiven by them, for venturing to print, when I candidly avow my only object in so doing, to be that of throwing as much light upon the conduct of NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE in his captivity, and on that of those appointed to hold him in custody, as minute inquiries made on the spot can possibly afford, or the circumstances of the case with propriety permit.

Affairs, not "germane to the matter," and in themselves wholly unimportant and uninteresting to the generality of readers, having thrown me upon the Island of Saint Helena, I determined to appropriate the period of my stay in the Colony to a close investigation of the treatment of that man, on whom for years the eyes of Europe were fixed as on a meteor,

"Sent to prove there is a Deity who rules the world,"

and having, during a long residence in foreign countries, met with several works on the subject, as well

as debates in the upper House of Parliament, I confess it was not without a degree of pleasure that I found myself placed by circumstances in a situation, where, by comparing facts with assertions, I could fairly and dispassionately examine, and honestly report upon a case in which, as I consider it, the honour of our Country generally, and the characters of its administration, and their representatives in Saint Helena particularly, are deeply and seriously involved.

Attention, in matters of opinion, to the feeble voice of an Individual, humble and unknown, I never should have had the vanity to have expected, but details of truths, plain and unvarnished, collected carefully, fairly, and accurately, at the fountain head, must have their weight in the scale of public feeling and popular judgment. In the following communication, I claim one only merit—VERACITY. It is to the correctness of my Statements I boldly pledge myself, and I DEFY ANY MAN BREATHING TO CHARGE ME, IN THE COURSE OF THESE PAGES, WITH EQUIVOCATION, PERVERSION OF FACT, OR MISREPRESENTATION OF CIRCUMSTANCE:—I have given my reasons for obtruding myself upon the notice of the World; nothing but the *nature* of the work I have undertaken would have emboldened me to commit myself so far; but, Seneca says, "Quæ veritati operam dat Oratio, incomposita sit et simplex," and if it be allowed to say the same of a written narrative, I trust I shall deprecate the severity of criticism, by the humility of my pretensions.

The book I had most recently read on the subject of Buonaparte's treatment before my arrival at Saint Helena, I met with in the Society House at the Cape of Good Hope:—it is a work purporting to be letters from that colony, and addressed by Count Las Cases to Lady

Clavering in London.* The statements of unnecessary harshness and capricious tyranny, exercised by His Excellency Sir Hudson Lowe and his subordinates, towards the late Emperor of the French, with which that book abounds, re-kindled in me a dormant feeling of indignation towards the persons implicated, which had been originally excited in my breast by the speeches of Lord Holland,† and other distinguished patriotic persons. There is in the pedigree of the noble Baron I have just mentioned, an illustrious name, which gives a certain importance to all he says in the cause of liberty, and I am free to avow, that my sentiments on this particular subject lost none of their weight, by the consideration that from the length of time which had elapsed between the debate in the House of Lords, and the date of Count Las Cases' letters, it was clearly evident that no change had taken place in the conduct of the Government, (at least the local government,) towards the fallen Chief. I therefore cheerfully made up my mind to the task of an Inquisitor, resolved that no consideration should influence me in my progress,

* It will thus be seen that the identity of "Lady C." was immediately known, although Napoleon's authorship of the letters was not suspected.

† Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third Baron Holland (1773–1840), was the nephew of Charles James Fox—hence the allusion to "an illustrious name." In 1817 he asked in the House of Lords for information concerning Napoleon's treatment at St. Helena. Lord Bathurst replied. "The effect of my motion, I flatter myself," says Lord Holland ("Foreign Reminiscences"), "produced some little relaxation." Lord and Lady Holland were presented to Napoleon in Paris in 1802, when he was First Consul. A little later, in company with Charles James Fox, Lord Holland dined and spent an evening at his Court. Lady Holland's attentions to Napoleon during the St. Helena exile were many, and doubtless did a little to solace his captivity. The Emperor bequeathed to her a snuff-box in which he had placed a card, carefully cut to size, and on which he had written—"*L'Empereur Napoléon à Lady Holland, témoignage de satisfaction et d'estime.*"

coupling with that determination another, which was, after collecting facts, to—

"Tell truth and shame the Devil:"

and so I will! ——

As my best guides in my search I took the Count Las Cases' Letters, and the "Observations on Earl Bathurst's Speech,"* in reply to Lord Holland.—The one work written by an old Adherent of Napoleon, the other forwarded for publication by an apostate Partisan. The result of my inquiries on the points alluded to in these publications I shall first lay before my readers.

As an Englishman it may perhaps be ceded to me, to consider eating and drinking subjects of no small importance; and I confess in the Count's assertion relative to the *animal* treatment of Napoleon, where he says, "Food barely fit to eat is with difficulty procured," there was something particularly annoying to the feelings. Common Humanity would prompt us not to starve the caged tiger, whose lawless rovings in the search of prey we had ourselves restricted. It was therefore with a full proportion of nationality in my disposition, that in the first instance I personally and minutely inquired into the quality and quantity of provisions furnished to the Longwood Establishment.

I can only say that, from experience, having several days partaken of beef, veal, and mutton, parts of the animals forwarded for Buonaparte's use, I do positively declare, that I never saw such excellent meat any where *out* of Europe, and very seldom tasted better *in* it—The beef (by prescriptive right a British staple),

* "Observations on Lord Bathurst's Speech in the House of Peers on March, 18, 1817," Longmans, 1818.

Upon the title page is the inscription "I approve these observations. I desire that they may be placed before the Eyes of the Sovereign, and of the People of England, Napoleon. Longwood, 9th Oct., 1817."



A Little-known Napoleon Memorial Design.
by Fragonard fils.

furnished by a man of the name of Barker, in Arno's Vale, would have done honour to an Alderman's Christmas dinner; the sheep (particularly the English breed), thrive here uncommonly well, and the abundance of beautiful pasture, with which this "*barren rock*" abounds, gives to the meat a flavour extremely delicious.

Having vouched for the quality of two leading articles in a bill of fare, I subjoin an account of the quantity of eatables furnished monthly to Longwood; —the establishment consists of Buonaparte, Count and Countess Bertrand, and three children (I believe), Count and Countess Montholon, and two children, six men servants, and the female attendants on the ladies.

The statement annexed happens to be of articles actually supplied during the month of June last. I did not select it for any particular reason, but took it accidentally from a bundle of similar papers which I had access to, through the kindness of a gentleman to whom I mentioned the object of my inquiry. The amount, however, of each month's consumption is generally the same, with merely a variation in the minor articles supplied according to the change of season.*

* A similar statement, I find, has been published in England—the only difference I believe in the one annexed from that which has already been before the public, consists in the change of mode of supply. Till latterly, the establishment at Longwood was furnished by a person of the name of Balcombe, at whose house Buonaparte first lived, and of whose daughters so many ridiculous stories were told by the Saint Helena anecdote hunters. This person, however, having left the Island, the duties of purveyor were placed in the hands of the chief Commissariat officer, Denzil Ibbetson, Esquire, by which change the comforts of the family are materially increased, and an equal degree of economy observed; the profit necessarily allowed to Mr. Balcombe as purveyor, (who was also a merchant,) on articles purchased, not being of course charged by the Government officer.—*Note by Hook.*

ITEMS OF SUPPLIES FURNISHED TO LONGWOOD IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1818

Claret	240 Bottles.	Champaigne	15 Bottles.
Vin de Grave	60 ditto.	Constantia	15 ditto.
Madeira	30 ditto.	Cape Wine	630 ditto.
Teneriffe	150 ditto.	Ale and Cyder	180 ditto.

And as much draught beer as might have been required.

Flour	100 lbs.	Candles	240 lbs.
Rice	150 lbs.	Potatoes	15 Bushels
Butter	300 lbs.	Sugar Candy	300 lbs.
Cheese	60 lbs.	Coals	1440 Bushels
Salt	80 lbs.	Beef and Veal	1200 lbs.
Vermicelli	45 lbs.	Mutton	1500 lbs.
Maccaroni	45 lbs.	Bread	1800 lbs.
Salad Oil	32 Quarts	Eggs	1080
Vinegar	41 Bottles	Milk	420 Quarts
Lard	60 lbs.	Pigeons	30
Pepper	10 lbs.	Roasting Pigs	4
Mustard	5 Bottles	Geese	8
Pickles	6 ditto.	Ducks	16
Olives	12 ditto.	Fowls	240
Hams	12	Black Tea	15 lbs.
Tongues	12	Green Tea	15 lbs.
Soap	30 lbs.	Rum	2 bottles
Wood	20,160 lbs.	Twine	1 lb.*

Vegetables, Fruit and Fish, as much as required, according to the season. Confectionery of all sorts, Liqueurs and Preserves, etc. from Hoffman, included only in the daily accounts.

Upon this Statement I made a remark, that the quantity of Champaigne bore no proportion to the other wines, and I found that Count Montholon, at Buonaparte's desire, fixed the quantity himself, as well as the number of Hams, it having been intended to have sent up more—but the remark of the Count to Mr. Ibbetson, the Commissary in charge of the stores, was, that more of either article would be useless.

I had the curiosity twice to visit these Stores at

* I inquired why this article was included, and found it was used for tying *pudding bags!—Note by Hook.*

Huts Gate. Fitted up and arranged expressly for Longwood—they contained every article of the first quality from London, abundance of confectionary and grocery, and the best wines, cyder, ale, porter, and liqueurs.

Count Las Cases speaks of the badness of the bread and the water: the bread which is made expressly and solely for Buonaparte's establishment, of the very best flour, is excellent;* and the water pure, fine, and clear: one man's whole daily duty is to furnish Longwood with it, from the spring near Doctor Kay's house. Although no water-drinker, I took a tumbler of it at Longwood, that I might experimentally satisfy myself on every point on which I profess to give information.

There is something apparently frivolous in dwelling on such details, but as the charge of starvation is recorded it is necessary to be thus minute in its refutation.

In the Observations on my Lord Bathurst's Speech, it is remarked, speaking of Napoleon, that, "*The Great Man is dying on a rock,*"—this decided falsehood is best and most pointedly answered by the evident fact, "that the *little* man is *living* on a *fertile plain.*"—In these Observations, page 70, it is said, "The House of Longwood is destitute of shade, water, and coolness:" now the House derives its name from its contiguity to a long wood, which extends in a right line nearly four miles, the shade it affords being so luxuriant, that at three hundred yards distance the House is imperceptible amongst the trees, which spring healthily from turf as fine and fresh as ever was trodden. Mr. Las Cases says, —"It was expected they" (not WE) "would have been lodged in Plantation House, a very handsome residence built by the Hon. East India Company for their

* The bread I allude to is not even furnished to the Governor's Table. —*Note by Hook.*

Governor: " by the same rule, had Napoleon Buonaparte been suffered to have remained in England, he might have considered Windsor Castle, or some other palace or public building, as a pleasant retirement for his Imperial Majesty; for why a house, built as the Count Las Cases himself distinctly says, by a great public body, expressly for one of themselves, should be appropriated to the residence of a foreign prisoner, one cannot easily imagine.* However, so indulgent were our Government towards him, that application was actually made to The Honourable East India Company for the use of Plantation House; to which they answered, with an independence which shews that ministers cannot do exactly as they like in Saint Helena, that Plantation House was built by them for their Governors, and so long as they had a Governor there, it should be his.

It might appear by this application on the part of the King's Government to the Company, that Plantation House was infinitely superior to Longwood; this, however, is by no means the case. The Government House has in its interior arrangement, that, which any other house of the same *calibre* would have, in the hands of

* Hook it will be seen out-Herods Herod. Sir Walter Scott, who cannot be accused of any friendliness for Napoleon, and was very distinctly of Hook's party, writes:—

"The accommodation upon the island was by no means such as could be desired in the circumstances. There were only three houses of a public character, which were in any degree adapted for such a guest. Two, the town residences of the governor and lieutenant-governor of the island, were unfit for the habitation of Napoleon, because they were within James Town, a situation which, for obvious reasons, was not advisable. The third was Plantation-House, a villa in the country, belonging to the governor, which was the best dwelling in the island. The British administration had prohibited the selection of this house for the residence of the late Imperial captive. We differ from their opinion in this particular, because the very best accommodation was due to fallen greatness; and, in his circumstances, Napoleon, with every respect to the authority of the governor, ought to have been the last person on the island subjected to inconvenience."—"Life of Napoleon," Vol. IX., pp. 117–18.

a superior well-regulated English family, more of the *snug* and *comfortable* than the establishment of the Frenchman, who, in his whole dictionary, has no such two words, nor any fifty words, which by combination, could afford the same two meanings. But the *locale* of Longwood is decidedly the better of the two; the country surrounding it in every direction is beautifully adapted for riding or driving, the whole of which, to the extent of twelve or thirteen miles, Napoleon has the UNDISTURBED PRIVILEGE OF ENJOYING UNSEEN AND UNATTENDED. The motive for making the request for Plantation House I should imagine to have been the wish to have accommodated the prisoner immediately on his arrival, without the delay necessarily required for fitting up Longwood for his reception.

The account Las Cases gives of Longwood is preeminently absurd. The raging wind of which he speaks, is the refreshing South-East Trade, which renders the climate healthy and temperate, and the blights which accrue to the vegetation from its parching effects, exhibit their influence in a most surprising manner, in the luxuriant produce of a Kitchen garden; which, although the Count affirms "that no such convenient appendage ever *could be* established at Longwood," *covers at this moment about three or four acres of ground, within two hundred yards of the house,* and under the superintendence of a man of the name of Porteus, produces remarkably fine vegetables, for the excellence of which I can vouch, from the unquestionable authority I quoted in favour of Mr. Barker's beef—*personal experience.*

The drawing sentinels round the house at night, gives Mr. Las Cases great offence;—it prevents Buonaparte's taking exercise at the only time it can be done in a tropical climate. In the first place, where the mercury ranges generally betweeen 60° and 75°, exercise may be

taken at all times of the day, with no more personal inconvenience, or prejudicial consequences to health in a tropical climate, than in London or Paris; and in the second place, in tropical climates, the interval between sunset and total darkness is so short, that unless under favour of the Moon, it would hardly be desirable to take exercise at that particular point of time.

The drawing sentinels round the garden after dark, has, even should it be a little irksome, been proved to be by no means an unnecessary caution;* but it should be taken into the calculations of the *great* man, that no sentinels WHATEVER ARE PLACED WITHIN SIGHT OF THE HOUSE DURING THE DAY WHEN THEY CAN BE VISIBLE TO HIM; nay, such particular attention has been paid to his rooted antipathy (easily enough accounted for) to English red coats, that an objection having been started by some of his followers to his using the high road to James Town farther than Huts Gate, because there was an English picquet there, Sir Hudson Lowe instantly directed the picquet to be removed entirely out of sight of the road. In a similar manner, it being supposed that the Barracks at Dedwood, although more than a mile from his lawn, might prove an unpleasant object from his windows, orders have been given to place them entirely out of his view, previously to his occupying the new house erecting for his residence.

* Nothing could have proved more strongly the importance of having a guard near his person than the circumstances detailed in a long published account of Buonaparte's escape from Longwood, and almost miraculous journey to the Beach, (of which, by the way, there is none in Saint Helena) put forth by the faction: but unfortunately the whole of that remarkable history is of the same nature with most of their statements —wholly untrue. It is singular, however, that these persons at the moment they are censuring the local government for its unnecessary severity, illustrate their doctrine by a narrative, the only tendency of which must be to prove a too great laxity in the confinement of the prisoner.—*Note by Hook.*

Equal delicacy is observed in *seeing him.* The Captain who lives at Longwood House is placed there nominally, NOT as a guard over his person, nor a spy on his actions, but as an *orderly* officer in *attendance upon him,* ready to accompany him should he wish to pass the limits of Country through which he may travel unattended.

The stories I have seen in some of the English papers about "*sighting him,*" are perfectly ridiculous; for so cautiously is the daily view taken of him, that unless he has been told the fact by his minion, it is very probable that he is as little aware of the circumstance, as he may be of the signal which is made every morning and evening to the Governor, announcing his safety. I insert a copy of one of these signals, which has the double merit of shewing the nature of the thing itself, and establishing the fact of Buonaparte's security up to that date :—

From Dedwood.

All is well with respect to General Bonaparte.

J. Clarke.

S.M. (Signal Man.)

Wednesday Evening.

½ past 6, Nov. 25, 1818

I have left Mr. Clarke's mis-spelling of the General's name unchanged, rather than invalidate the correctness of the *document* by the slightest alteration.

Another great grievance of which the Napoleons complain, is the interdiction of Newspapers. "Is it not," say they, with an apparent degree of plausibility, "very hard that public journals, which are open to your active enemies, and the meanest of yourselves, should be denied to us, restrained as we are, and harmless as we must be here." The answer is evident.—In the first place, Count Bertrand has openly declared, with a degree of complaisance towards our national character, which we could very well have spared, that he can at all times

ensure the safe delivery of Letters to their address in Europe, without the slightest apprehension of failure:—"For," said he, "the first respectable looking stranger I meet in the roads, I shall ask him if he be an Englishman; on his answering in the affirmative, I shall beg to know if he be a Man of Honour; if his reply (as I conclude it will be) be in the affirmative also, I shall confide my Letters to him, with a perfect assurance of their safe conveyance." The Count has succeeded in some instances, and one in particular;—he will not, however, probably have an opportunity of trying the Experiment with the same person again. But what if he do? say the partisans of Buonaparte—Buonaparte can tell his friends little more than they know already—that he is at Saint Helena, and very likely to remain there *malgré lui*, and moreover, that he would rather be anywhere else. To do mischief, replies must be had to his despatched Letters, and a communication established between him and his continental confederates—how so easily as through the medium of the public papers? To those who doubt this, I not only say, that such communications are possible, or probable, but I will tell them in plain, unqualified terms, that such communications have been made, and such a correspondence has been established. In the Anti-Gallican Monitor, of ALL papers, one advertisement particularly, appeared on the 3rd of November, 1816, peculiar in its form, curious in its contents, and pointedly, and purposely placed in a most conspicuous part of a Journal, not, as I believe, ordinarily admitting advertisements. Now this advertisement will be seen on a reference (which it is really worth while to make) to be in cypher—the key is the Letter X. which stands amongst the figures, and the cypher was discovered several months afterwards at VIENNA!—This I offer without remark, as a fact illustrative of the use intended to be made of an

indulgence the Longwood people seem to insist upon, which I should think might stagger the advocates for the admission of Newspapers into their circle.

That the Foreign Residents at Longwood

——— velut aegri somnia vanae
Finguntur species ———

—reckon on great results from the maintenance of a correspondence with Europe, may be gathered from the notions they have of the interest which their Idol every where creates:—Bertrand recently said, that "the whole world might fairly be divided into two great parties: the Friends and Enemies of *the Emperor*."

All the complaints and protests, all the discontents and sulkinesses of Buonaparte, go to effect, (if possible) a removal from the only spot on earth, whence escape is impracticable.

Las Cases has this object in view in all his Letters: "He would be much better," says he, "in a house in England or Scotland." Now as to Scotland being a more congenial climate to a Corsican constitution than Saint Helena, I much doubt it. As proofs that Saint Helena is positively and decidedly healthy, I adduce the children of Bertrand and Montholon—not children living in any other part of the Island, but at Longwood, in the house with Buonaparte, composing part of his family:—I never saw more decided marks of salubrity, than in the rosy cheeks and sparkling eyes of these little traitors.

Mr. Las Cases is rather unlucky in quoting in support of his statement of the unhealthiness of the climate, the number of deaths in the Sixth Regiment, inasmuch as that regiment never has been in the Island, it is evidently a blunder, and much of a piece with the bungling manner in which he betrays the real date of his Letters, by beginning his fifth Epistle from the

Cape of Good Hope, May 8, 1817, with telling his dear Lady C. to "behold him now at St. Helena."

The fact is, that Mr. Las Cases does not seem to have had the same advantages which Mr. Santini* possessed, in the preparation of *his* work for the press. The production of the latter *gentleman* was ushered into the world under very extraordinary patronage and protection; no less than that of an ENGLISH GENERAL. We have lately witnessed an extraordinary event in the liberation of Lavalette by Sir Robert Wilson. However romantic his conduct must have appeared to all the thinking part of the people of England, still there was in the character and conduct of the enterprise, a bold and open daring, on principles sufficiently wild to

* "Our four outlaws, namely the Pole, Santini, Archambeau, and Rousseau, left us about the middle of the day. In an hour after, they sailed for the Cape with a brisk wind"—so writes Las Cases under date Oct. 19, 1816. "The Pole," was Piontkowski, who wept on the *Bellerophon* because he was not permitted to accompany the Emperor, but who followed later and proved a social failure (*see* p. 82, "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers." Santini held a very subordinate position. On his return he wrote:—

1. An Appeal to the British Nation on the Treatment experienced by Napoleon in the Island of St. Helena, London, 1817.

2. "Chagrins Domestiques de Napoléon Bonaparte à l'Isle Sainte-Hélène par Eduard Santini, ex-huissier de la cavalerie de Napoléon Bonaparte à Sainte-Hélène, Paris 1821."

Concerning the first pamphlet O'Meara writes under date 5th June, 1817, a letter, that is reproduced in Scott's "Napoleon":—

"He (Buonaparte) observed that Santini's was a foolish production, exaggerated, full of *coglioneris*, and some lies: Truths there were in it, but exaggerated. That there never had existed that actual want described by him; that there had been enough to eat supplied, but not enough to keep a proper table; that there had been enough of wine for them; that there certainly had been sometimes a deficiency of necessary articles, but that this might be accounted for by accidents; that he believed frequent purchases had been made, at the camp, of bread and other provisions, which might also have occasionally arisen from the same cause. He added, he was convinced some Englishman had written it, and not Santini."

As a matter of fact only the second book was really by Santini.

astonish the ignorant, and sufficiently hostile to the interests of the legitimate government of France to charm the *patriots*. But what would these people say, if, turning from this political Quixote, I were to hold up to their notice a General in our pay—in our uniform—in the act of cherishing Mr. Santini, and putting his pamphlet into as good English as he was able, involving the national character of his own country; stigmatizing honourable individuals, and deliberately giving the best colour to falsehoods propagated in the cause of that man who avowedly hates England with his whole heart and soul; who shuns, as a basilisk, the very sight of the uniform which that General wore, whilst fighting as it were, with his pen, under French colours, and using, for no good purposes, the dregs of an Italian private soldier's brains:—to point him out to the People, would be to mark him as an object for their suspicion—not their confidence. I shall abstain from saying more,—he knows while he reads this paragraph, that I KNOW HIM; let him with moderation enjoy the advantages he has obtained, but let him beware of too much *patriotism*.

With the state of Buonaparte's health it was my active endeavour to make myself as well acquainted as possible; and I had the satisfaction of having a positive declaration made to me in Longwood House, that he had never been in better health since his arrival, than he was at the time I was there. I saw him twice. The trick of standing with his hands in his breeches pockets he almost invariably adopts, rarely altering their position, except to take snuff, or place them in the pockets of his coat. The strong peculiarity in his appearance which strikes every beholder, arises from the almost preternatural size of his head, relatively to his body and limbs. On the 10th of November he was in the varhandha adjoining his billiard room, with a red night-

cap on his head; and on the 12th of the same month, was walking and whistling in the same place, with every appearance of excellent spirits:—he did not come into the garden, because it was not his POLICY.

This policy of his, of which he speaks openly, and of which Bertrand and Montholon speak openly too, is the most downright, and least artificial piece of chicanery he ever adopted. All the fabrications about the pains on his chest, and the swellings of his legs, are so many political stage tricks, to keep alive the attention of *his half of the world*, and induce, if possible, the great event—REMOVAL.

It is of course well known that since the demission of his favourite, O'Meara,* he has refused to see Doctor Verling, the medical man appointed to the Longwood Establishment by Sir Hudson Lowe. Through Montholon, he has gone so far as to let the Doctor understand, that this stubborn invisibility on his part, is not the result of disrespect towards either his person or abilities. That the rest of the party at Longwood have a favourable opinion of his professional qualifications, is evident from the fact of his being the constant attendant and adviser of both families; but, as Buonaparte says, it is not his *policy* to see him, because he was not placed about his person by the Privy Council.

This manœuvre he considers masterly, because, were Doctor Verling admitted to his presence, and an acquaintance with his constitution, the fallacy of all his tales of illhealth would of course be discovered; by the determination, therefore, not to see him, he, without fear of contradiction, puts forth stories of his malady, in which he feels certain of being supported by his late physician; while, at the same time, he is enabled to complain that a medical man, in whom he has no con-

* It was in July, 1818, that O'Meara was removed from his office of Napoleon's physician.

fidence, has been appointed to attend him by an incompetent authority.

Instead of state Hepatitis and political Anasarca, were Buonaparte really to feel animal indisposition, I shrewdly suspect that the love of life would induce him to abandon his worldly *policy*, and call in the present *unqualified* attendant.

Buonaparte is no Roman:—It may be confidently relied on, that the man who could scamper from Waterloo to Paris to pack up plate, china, and table linen, as a fellow would rob his furnished lodgings, the night before he had made up his mind to abscond, will never allow himself to be seriously ill, without taking advice from a source which himself allows to be highly respectable, and on which all his adherents successfully rely; nor kill himself by inches after his fall, when, with his views of religion, he might have ended his life with more *éclat* on the point of his own sword at the moment of his final defeat, and when he might justly have exclaimed

——— "Nimirum hâc die
Unâ plus vixi mihi quàm vivendum fuit." *

EFFECT! is all he appears anxious about, and he resolutely sacrifices a great deal of comfort for its maintenance. His determined abstinence from riding, with twelve of the best horses which could be procured, in his stable, from the doors of which, for twelve miles, roads have been made, expressly for his use; his relinquishment of gardens teeming with flowers, and in which he had caused an arbour to be built, the refusal to play his favourite game of billiards, in his own house with his own adherents; are so many proofs of his rigid devotion to that system of *charlatanerie* which he calls —*policy*.

This policy was brought into play lately by a par-

* Macrob. Saturnal. lib. ii. c. 7.

ticular attention paid to his wishes.—Sir Hudson Lowe, on a suggestion that the shade I mentioned at page 179, in the park at Longwood, was not so immediately close to the house that Buonaparte could bury himself in it, without passing along one walk from the billiard room through the flower garden (of the length perhaps of eighty yards), immediately offered to hire for him, as a summer retreat, the delightful residence of Miss Mason, within his private limits, about three miles from Longwood, by which one of the roads leads, which have been made purposely for him, and in the grounds of which there is, *close to the doors*, a deep wood, impervious not only to the "noon-tide ray," but to human eye, where, unseen, he might from "morn till night" have enjoyed his sulkiness, in all the luxury of solitude:—the offer was refused—from *policy*.

During my stay in the Island, he had a little relaxed—shewn himself more frequently than he had done for several months before, and had gone so far as to send a message of acknowledgment for some favour, to the Governor. The least alteration in the manœuvres of a man like Buonaparte, deserves notice, inasmuch as it demands increased vigilance:—as he, and his adherents openly declare all his acts to be political, a change, however trifling in his behaviour, which savours of civility towards a man whom he has personally affected to despise, and who, in his memoranda on Sir Thomas Reade's letter to Bertrand, he designates by the curiously combined epithets of Coxcomb and Assassin, (the latter of which designations the English papers, for what reason I cannot divine, thought proper to suppress) is more likely to be the effect of a determination to commence a new system of circumvention, than the result of any proper feeling;—no shift, no artifice, however mean, base, and contemptible in its nature, or worrying to himself, has been wanting to induce the

change of place of confinement; and it is curious to observe, wherever circumstances have been adverse, how entirely his assumed dignity of character and greatness of mind have abandoned him; not unlike the rider of a winning horse; while taking the lead of his competitors, one cannot fail of admiring the grace of his attitude, the firmness of his seat, and the command he has of the fine animal bounding under him;—see him passed—see him fall into the rear, all the elegance and self-possession which charmed, have vanished, and a scene of wriggling, twisting, spurring, and flogging ensues, with all the shabby manœuvres which bad temper, disappointed hopes, and lost ascendancy can suggest, or the *liberal* laws of the turf admit.

The cool bare-facedness with which all the French at Saint Helena speak of the system he has so long adopted, and of which it appears to me he begins to be weary, would, one might think, counteract any object they might expect to gain by an adherence to it.—In a conversation which Count Montholon had a short time since with the Marquis de Montchenu, the French Commissioner, the Marquis (alluding to some attention which had been paid to Napoleon's wishes) observed, that they ought to be satisfied;—"That," said the Count, "we never shall be, *here*,—it is not the *policy*."

The warm bath in which Buonaparte *stews* himself, as it were, for hours together, and the abandonment of exercise, might, in an unhealthy situation, have enervated and emaciated him; but the excellence of the climate has *maliciously* defeated all his efforts to become interesting; and in spite of his exertions, a more ungraceful, thick-legged, fat, little fellow never existed on the face of the earth.

Concerning his domestic habits, I made the minutest inquiries: my information must of course have been *hearsay;* but it was gathered from the *best authority*.

He rises about eight or nine, and, after breakfast, is employed either in reading, (in which case he usually establishes himself in his warm bath), or writing, or sometimes in merely dictating to Montholon, who is actively employed as his amanuensis, in preparing his memoirs:—he dines at three, or rather earlier—frequently alone; occasionally Bertrand and his wife dine with him; occasionally the Montholons; but for some time past, not together. After dinner, when not particularly sulky, he goes into the varhandha, or the billiard room, with which it communicates, and walks there with some of the little party till Coffee be served.

In alluding to the memoirs of his life, on which he is employed, another instance of his love of effect may be adduced—When Las Cases was at Saint Helena, he officiated as Secretary;* and, amongst his papers, when seized in consequence of his having violated the regulations, and smuggled away letters, were found two manuscript volumes of the History of Napoleon;—Buonaparte claimed them, and they were immediately sent to him;—on the receipt of them, without opening, he threw them both into the fire, and commenced his task of rewriting them, with renewed vigour and activity.

I have mentioned that the Bertrands and Montholons were latterly not invited to dine with Buonaparte together; I inquired the cause of this cautious separation, and found that the ladies had quarrelled.

It brought to my mind the old story of the two men, who, having been doomed to take charge of the Eddystone Light House for three years, contrived to disagree; when upwards of two years of their term of banishment had expired, some visitor asked one of them

* Las Cases was arrested on November 25th, 1816, by Hudson Lowe on the charge of having smuggled, by a servant, a letter to Prince Lucien, and another to Lady Clavering, concerning the position and condition of Napoleon. On December 30th, Las Cases and his son sailed for the Cape.

how he liked living on the rock? "Why," said the fellow, "it might be pleasant enough with company, but partner and I haven't been on speaking terms for the last eighteen months."

I had the curiosity to inquire the ground of difference between the Saint Helena ladies, and was told it was jealousy:—on the bare mention of the "green-eyed monster," I thought I had discovered some new historical fact, when, to my utter surprise, I found that these fair ones, jealous of each other's mode of dress, stationed their *soubrettes* on the alert for the arrival of new millinery from James Town, and the lady whose *aide du chambre* was sufficiently fortunate to fall in with the consignment, made it a point to leave none for the adornment of the other's person.

Should, however, any of my readers be at all interested in the little quarrels of these *soi-disant* Countesses, I can inform them that just previous to my departure, through the mediation of their husbands, a reconciliation, to a certain degree, had taken place; at least I saw the two families walking together in the road to James Town, on the evening of Saturday, Nov. 21.

Of these two Brentford Queens, Madame Montholon is the quieter and more amiable; Madame Bertrand has more the air of an *Intriguante*, (I mean a political one) and sometimes tries her hand at the popular game of *effect*. While I was in the Island, she borrowed *two shillings* of a soldier's wife of the name of Snell, to do some charitable action, and did not repay her for three or four days: *her policy* being to have it inferred, that, with the sweetest and most benevolent feelings in the world, she had no money at her disposal; this, considering they actually receive four hundred pounds sterling per month, every article, either necessary, or of luxury being furnished them, is much of a piece with Buonaparte's political sale of plate, to pay household expenses,

with ten thousand pounds at command, besides the favorite necklace of the Princess Hortense, of which *cadeau* he became master much in the same manner as Mr. Warden did, in *his* turn, of Buonaparte's knee-buckles; which necklace, by the way, may have been disposed of, in a manner somewhat more profitable than being worn in a neckcloth.

As to the knee-buckles, it has been reported by some facetious story-teller in London, that Buonaparte took from his person a pair of those articles, and presented them to Mr. Warden, the Surgeon of the Northumberland, with a piteous political tale, that he had nothing else at his disposal to mark his esteem, regard, &c., &c., &c. It may be as well, for the better elucidation of this apparent partiality of Buonaparte towards the medical officers of our navy, to mention, that when Mr. Warden was on the eve of departure for England, he begged Las Cases to get him something belonging to Buonaparte to shew his friends; and moreover, that when the request was made, Las Cases went into Napoleon's dressing room, took a pair of his old knee-buckles, and gave them to Mr. Warden, of which little transaction the *great* man was ignorant then, and may be to this present moment for all that appears to the contrary; and for all that appears to the contrary, the said knee-buckles may have been Las Cases' own, and never have belonged to Buonaparte *at all*.

Whether it be this story, or others which have reached England, in which Mr. Warden is mixed up, which have irritated the people at Longwood, I know not; but General Gourgaud, previously to his departure from Saint Helena, publicly treated Mr. Warden's name with as little respect as the Quarterly Review has done, and added a threat more unpleasant to a man *personally*, than even the justice of literary criticism; for the General openly announced it to be his determination,

wherever he caught Mr. Warden, to cut his ears off! —General Gourgaud, I saw by the Times Newspaper of July, has been in London; and as he has advertised himself to be living in Kenton Street, Brunswick Square, any *interested person* might ascertain the sincerity of his intentions on *that head*.*

I remember to have heard, that when Buonaparte was at Paris, the chair in which he commonly sat was cut and hacked in all directions; and a French gentleman has told me, that at Malmaison he himself saw the remnants of nearly forty penknives, which had fallen victims to his fancy of stumping them, and sticking them into a large mahogany table at which he used to write:—his peculiar taste at Saint Helena is breaking wine glasses, (as the repeated indents on a man of the name of Darling will prove) and which, when he happens to dine alone, he does in a very masterly style.

It may be necessary to remark, that whenever the *great* man is particularly displeased, he has a knack of drawing down the corners of his mouth and *grunting* —literally *grunting*. He commences after dinner humming a tune, beating time on the table with the foot of his glass; during this operation, thoughts of other days flash across his mind, and the air and motion become more animated, till the reverie closes with one of his loudest grunts, to which sound the action is so vehemently adapted, that the glass falls a victim to his energy.

Of these grunts he is particularly profuse, when any former failure of his own is brought, however accidentally, to his recollection.—At one time his Cook conceiving himself ill used, proceeded to Plantation House, to complain to the Governor of the ill treatment he had

* Since my arrival, I find that General Gourgaud has shewn the cloven foot in England, and has been removed—so much the better.—*Note by Hook.*

received; Sir Hudson Lowe having heard what he had to say, considered the man to have been in the wrong, and ordered him back to Longwood; when he arrived, Buonaparte would not allow him to enter the house, and on his return back to Plantation, Sir Hudson immediately sent his own Cook to Buonaparte, begging that he would make use of him as long as he found it convenient; Buonaparte saw the man, whose name is Albey, and with his characteristic inquisitiveness, asked him what countryman he was, "A German, Sir," said the Cook; "In what part of your country," said the General, "do they speak the best German?" "At Leipsic, Sir," said the Cook. Buonaparte uttered one of his fiercest grunts, and ordered Mr. Albey to be sent back to Government House immediately, which he was, and Longwood supplied with a cook from the suite of Lord Amherst, who happened to touch at Saint Helena on his return from China. Now the chances are, that Buonaparte at some period may find it his policy to assert, that this man was instructed to throw Leipsic in his teeth, although the conversation was commenced by himself, and Mr. Albey is as matter of fact a cook as ever made *minced meat*.

On another occasion, Colonel Dodgin, of the Sixty-sixth Regiment, a distinguished officer, decorated with the Order of the Bath, and several clasps and medals, was introduced to him; he entered into conversation, and inquired about his services. The clasps told a good deal of the story; but in the continuation of his interrogatories, he asked the Colonel where he had served previously to going on the Continent:—"I served against you in Egypt, Sir," was the Colonel's reply; the rejoinder was a *grunt* which put an end to the conversation.

It is evident that, to restrain the natural violence of a temper, which, while in the possession of absolute

power, he allowed to manifest itself on all occasions, must require an effort. He must be conscious that the paroxysms of rage, into which his choleric disposition often betrayed him while on a throne, would only be ridiculous in Saint Helena, where his dominion is so curtailed, that the loss of two or three untractable *subjects*, would leave him bare of followers; the effect of smothering this flame is gloom and sulkiness;

> ——— Magno veluti cum flamma sonore
> Virgea suggeritur costis undantis aheni,
> Exsultantque æstu latices: furit intus aquæ vis,
> Fumidus atque altè spumis exuberat amnis
> Nec jam se capit unda—volat vapor ater ad auras.*

the disposition remains unaltered, although circumstances and policy have rendered the results different. An anecdote or two, illustrative of his character when uncurbed and uncontrolled, I cannot refrain from mentioning here, my authority for them is Marshal Augereau.

One day, while dining with the Empress Josephine and some of the Marshals, she being attended by her page and relation Mr. Senois, Napoleon finished his meal considerably sooner than Her Majesty, and rose to quit the room; he "stood not on the order of going," but instead of passing down from his place to the doors, walked round behind the seat of the Empress, and uttering one of his grunts, gave Mr. Senois, who had stepped back against the wall to make way for him, a most violent kick, and then passed on:—Mr. Senois never received the slightest communication on the subject, nor, according to the régime of the Imperial Court, did he consider it prudent to make any farther inquiries:—The Empress, indeed, when she heard Mr. Senois utter a moan, asked what was the matter; on his telling her that His Imperial Majesty had been graciously pleased to kick him, the obedient consort

* Virgil.

appeared to know her duty too well to make any remark on the subject, either to her august spouse, or her degraded relative.

In a similar manner one of his pages, the son of a Colonel in his household, having brought Napoleon a letter which contained some unpleasant news, *His Majesty* having read the contents of the dispatch, gave its astonished bearer a most violent slap on the face :— the lad remonstrated with the rest of the pages, they advised him to bear it quietly, and on a reference to his father, he received the same counsel.

But *that* which I consider to be the most abominable littleness of malice I ever heard of, or could have imagined possible, betrayed itself in his conduct to his dear and so much lamented wife, the Empress Maria Louisa :—He had, previously to his going out one day on a sporting party, (in the Bois de Boulogne) in which the ladies of the court joined, had a discussion with his fair consort ; while engaged in the chace, Napoleon all at once proposed their dismounting and following the game on foot ; the Empress pleaded a hurt which she had received a few days before, in her ancle, of which her spouse was fully aware :—" *On ne me fait point question sur mes ordres, Madame,*" said the Emperor : she dismounted ; and after several torturing efforts to continue with the party, sat down literally incapable of standing. This wound up his imperial rage to an awful pitch—deep it was, although silent,— he took no farther notice of the circumstance at the moment, although unable to conceal the workings of his countenance :

——— nigrescunt sanguine venæ
Lumina Gorgoneo sævius igne micant."*

In the evening the royal party were at Marshal Berthier's, at Gros-Bois ; and in the course of the enter-

* Ovid.

tainment, after a dramatic exhibition, there was a ball. The Marshal solicited the hand of the Empress, who told him, that in consequence of her exertions to obey the Emperor in the morning, her foot was so much inflamed, and so painful, that she felt quite unable to dance. Shortly after, as Berthier was crossing the ball-room, Napoleon asked him why he did not dance; he replied, that he was in search of a partner:—"Why do you not ask the Empress," said Buonaparte:—Berthier stated that he had done so, and gave her answer:—"Bah! Bah!" said the illustrious man, screwing down his mouth, and grunting, "the Empress not dance?—I say she shall—take her hand—I *order her to dance with you!*" and, to enforce his commands, he actually seized her with a degree of personal violence, not perfectly consistent with the supreme good breeding of a courtly circle; dance, however, Her Imperial Majesty did!

After this fact, for the truth of which I vouch, one might be apt to suppose that a good deal we hear of the lamentable effects of Buonaparte's separation from his beloved consort, had its origin, like most others of his grievances, in *policy*. He abandoned one woman, whom he has confessed he really was attached to—from *policy;* and the display of fine feeling for the loss of the other, whom he married decidedly from *policy*, may be equally fictitious with most of the exhibitions with which he favours the world; unless, as it is said, the separation of two persons, "once linked in a heavenly tie," has the same effect on their minds while thinking of each other, that gazing on the far-off land of our fathers has upon the eye;—all the charms are present to the heart,—all the defects are lost in the distance.

The same spirit of contemptuousness which he displayed as Emperor, manifested itself in Buonaparte

with respect to the Commissioners sent out to Saint Helena from the different continental powers. The ideas he entertained of them assimilated very little with those which they had of their own powers and importance :— they seemed to consider themselves ambassadors from their respective courts, rather than persons sent to watch a prisoner, who refused to see them, in their official capacity, or in Sir Hudson Lowe's presence.

The French Commissioner, the only one now resident at Saint Helena, is the Marquis de Montchenu, and he might as well be in Ispahan or Port Jackson, or any other more agreeable retreat. This nobleman, Buonaparte would admit to his presence on no consideration whatever; he abuses and ridicules him in the most unqualified and undisguised manner; and in a conversation with Mr. O'Meara, some time after the Marquis's arrival, Napoleon told him, that he always felt mortified for the honour of France, (with which, by the way, he has as much to do as the Baron Neuhoff had with the honour of England,) when he saw men like the Marquis, employed by the Government; "for," said he, "the English must have a very mean opinion of the French Nation, when they see such specimens exported."*

I dare say, this said Marquis is a very honourable man, and as well adapted for the post he holds, as any other person of his age and standing: but I confess, with the highest respect for the qualities of his heart, I was excessively surprised to see him one morning attend Count Montholon (who had called on him) to his horse, at the door of his house in James Town, shake him cordially by the hand, and separate from him with

* Buonaparte seems in his elevation, amongst other things, to have forgotten where he was born; in one of his proclamations to the French Army, he calls France their common mother.—What could have he been thinking of?—*Note by Hook.*

an unconstrained air of excessive friendship, when *he* himself was at the moment, as well aware as *I am now*, that Montholon was never backward in the Longwood Cabinet, to bestow epithets upon him, emanating originally from Napoleon, which, though adapted to the style and politics of an Ex-Imperial Court, are too indecent, as well as contemptuous, to appear in print before English readers.

This Marquis, as I said before, is the only Commissioner resident, at present, in Saint Helena. Count Balmain, a Scotsman, and Commissioner from Russia, after having knelt in vain to one of the sweetest of the Island belles, and received a refusal to his offer of marriage, which he could not *Brook*, has gone on a tour to Rio Janeiro: the Baron Sturmer and his lady have also quitted the Island—the Baron not forgetting to take with him his valued likeness of Buonaparte, which he regarded with as much veneration as IF it had been presented to him by the Ex-Empress Maria Louisa herself.

The residence of these persons at Saint Helena does not seem in the slightest degree necessary;—they are shut out by his whim and sulkiness from the opportunity of seeing the only person in the Island they have any thing to do with; and their presence in the colony, which must be irksome to themselves, and expensive to their respective courts, is with the precautions taken for, and attention paid to, the security of the Exile, as far as one can see, a matter of perfect indifference.

The only excuse which can be found for the capriciousness and freaks of Buonaparte, towards these said Commissioners, and indeed on all points connected with his jeopardy, where his great *policy* is out of the question, is the influence which the outlaw Bertrand has over him.—This fellow, whose insolence

and absurd assumption of consequence are perfectly ridiculous, has the faculty of *romancing* with greater gravity and assurance than the generality of his countrymen;—point blank denials of conversation, hardly dry on the lip, he considers fair stratagems: indeed, so completely is his character for *poeticising prose* now established in Saint Helena, that no officer having business to transact with him, will do it, unless in the presence of a third person.

His character as a man of honour, (I mean in the fashionable acceptation of the word) has suffered no slight tarnish, from an affair which occurred with Colonel Lyster. The being an old and valued acquaintance of Sir Hudson Lowe, was a sufficient reason for this officer's being marked for insult; and while he was resident at Longwood, Count Bertrand took upon himself to write a most scurrilous and abusive letter to him, the terms of which were by no means equivocal.—Colonel Lyster instantly called him out;—he refused to meet him; giving as a reason (I am told) that although in a staff situation, Colonel Lyster was not actually in the army. This is an agreeable evasion for a fellow who is an outlaw; whose life is forfeit, and who dares not to set his foot on the shores of his own country. M. Le Comte, however, did not choose to fight; and so apprehensive was he of personal chastisement in the streets of James Town, with which he had been publicly threatened, that he would not venture down to superintend the mounting of a carriage which had arrived for him from the Cape, and which, after remaining several weeks unopened, was eventually sent up to Longwood.

On my arrival in England, much to my surprise, I found that this carriage had been made the subject of a published letter from Saint Helena.—Of the statements contained in that letter, I have only to state that they are DECIDED FALSEHOODS. In the

first place, the fact I have above mentioned, that the carriage was kept *several weeks* in its case, in order that Bertrand might have it mounted under his own inspection, (which fact I set down four months since) will prove that the vehicle did not create the violent sensation described, nor suffer martyrdom the " moment it landed." In the next place, it so happens, that this carriage, which is a light phaeton, was taken out of the packing case, in which Harrington, the shopkeeper at the Cape had sent it down, in the open square at ten o'clock in the morning, in front of the Government House; and that, so far from the slightest damage having been done to the carriage in any way or manner, it was most carefully mounted and sent out to Longwood. The persons present at the time were Sir Thomas Reade, and Mr. Hook, the Treasurer of the Isle of France, (who was at Saint Helena on his way home,) myself, two workmen, the sentry at the castle gate, two lads of the name of Tracey, and a young man, whose name at this moment I forget, who happened to be passing, and waited to see the operation of slinging it.

It may appear singular, that a circumstance then apparently of no weight, should have made any impression on my mind; but the coincidences are so strong as to recall every minute part of the transaction to my recollection; for the observation, that probably the linings might be used as a mode of conveyance for secret communications to Longwood, I MADE *to Sir Thomas Reade,* who happened to be standing near me. The remark produced only a smile, and that no measure was taken to ascertain the probability of the suggestion I do most positively assert; and as positively deny, that any damage whatever was done to any part of the vehicle.—That it was not injured may be gathered farther, from the fact, that Bertrand, on its arrival, desired Captain Nicols, of the 66th, the orderly-

officer at Longwood, to present his compliments to Sir T. Reade, and thank him for his attention in having had it mounted and sent to him. Now had Bertrand received his phaeton in the state described in the letter, "body, pannells, and every atom of it broken to pieces;" it is not very probable that he (who is by no means inclined to be over-civil,) would have made his acknowledgments for the receipt of the fragments.*

Madame Bertrand, who, to do her justice, though long and lanky, and sallow and shapeless, is somewhat interesting, tried her influence over Dr. Verling, the medical attendant, on the subject of her husband's affair with Colonel Lyster; for finding that instead of being noticed by almost all the military men in their neighbourhood, her husband (whose policy does not lead him so cordially to hate red coats as his master,) *was universally cut* by them; she made an attack upon the Doctor to endeavour, by his interference, to effect a reconciliation between the Count and the Colonel.—His answer silenced all farther requests:—"Madam," said he, "I can have nothing to say on the subject; the insult was offered to Colonel Lyster in writing;—in writing the apology must be made; and only in writing can it be conveyed to that Gentleman."

Bertrand is still called by his wife and the nursery-maids the "*Grand Maréchal du Palais,*" and he and Montholon run like gré-hounds to fetch the *Emperor's* snuff-box from its ordinary resting place, the chimney-piece, whenever *His Majesty* indicates a desire to take a pinch. Now really this trait in the Grand Maréchal du Palais, who has followed the man's fortune, and

* In justice to Harrington, the man I before mentioned, I ought to say, that in my remark to Sir T. Reade, I never meant to imply that he had wilfully connived at the importation of letters in the linings of the carriage; nobody (who has ever seen the man) would suspect him of a plot; but in designing hands, the greatest fools may be rendered equally dangerous with the most consummate knaves.—*Note by Hook.*

been raised in his service from the plebeian rank of plough-boy to that of Count, would be rather creditable, if one did not recollect that he cannot desert his master advantageously. Madame Bertrand, with all her policy, has a certain share of the candour inherent in her sex, and occasionally let slip expressions, which might be construed into an ardent wish to BE OFF! but having no convenient retreat to fly to, they most faithfully and patriotically remain where they are.

One thing struck me very forcibly in Saint Helena, which was the total indifference of all the inhabitants, as to Buonaparte's movements or pursuits.—His name is hardly ever mentioned in any Society, except occasionally in reply to the inquiry of some stranger on the subject; and I declare, that the only time I ever heard any native speak about him, was one day passing through that beautiful and romantic spot Sandy Bay, when I met a man loaded with beef,—I asked for whom it was destined; —"for Boney, Sir," said he in a tone which, coupled with the homely abbreviation of his *illustrious* name, did not seem to indicate the slightest respect for his fallen greatness, or commiseration for his pretended sufferings.*

There is something in this consciousness of declining notoriety, which gives new energy to the discontents and complaints of Napoleon; for if they fail of effecting his removal, they at least serve to keep his hated name alive in our memories, I say in *our* memories, for in those countries whence have been repeatedly culled anticipated conscriptions, or through which he has

* This silence the writers of the opposite party, attribute to an apprehension on the part of the people, that their conduct may be misconstrued, and their conversations misinterpreted; but I aver, that it proceeds wholly from indifference, which indifference existed, even before Buonaparte's self-seclusion, when he was in the habit of riding about the Island, at which period he passed the dwellings of most of the inhabitants unnoticed.—*Note by Hook.*

taken his ambitious strides to greatness, the childless parent, the fatherless orphan, and the houseless inhabitant, need no refresheners to recall to their recollection the fallen Tyrant,—to whom might fairly have been addressed the words of Rousseau :

> " Tigre, à qui la pitié ne peut se faire entendre,
> Tu n'aimes que le meurtre et les embrassements ;
> Les remparts abattus, les palais mis en cendres,
> Sont de ta cruauté les plus doux monuments."

The last publication which has emanated from Longwood, is the Collection of Memoranda on Sir Thomas Reade's Letter, to which I alluded cursorily in another place. All I had seen before, whether coming from an illiterate fellow like Santini, or a shrewd adherent like Las Cases, or in the shape of Observations on Earl Bathurst's Speech, falls far, far short of these brief and pithy commentaries of Napoleon's ; there is a sort of satisfaction in having in these remarks, his opinion pure and ungarbled ; and, thanks to truth, they are all and each of them as easily combated and defeated, as the effusions of any of his outlawed followers, or denationalized minions.

If I grow warm as I advance in my task, I have to entreat my reader's forgiveness for my change of style ; but I entered Saint Helena,—I commenced my notes on what I saw, influenced,—prepossessed in favour of insulted, fallen greatness, and pitying Napoleon. Those feelings, I confess, were excited, (as I before declared,) by the patriotic speeches of men, whose principles in the cause of freedom were known, whose hatred of oppression was registered, and who, I concluded from the liberality of their dispositions, the powers of their minds, and the numberless opportunities they must have had of procuring the best intelligence on the subject, had possessed themselves of the most correct information, before they with boldness and confidence

espoused a cause, not the least delicate to handle in the political world.

That influence, those prejudices which I laboured under, have, during my stay in Saint Helena, gradually vanished before the sun of truth, and as the mist clears up in the progress of my inquiries, I feel warmed in the cause of those who have been attacked, vilified, and traduced.—But to the remarks,—

In the first place, as to the facts they contain, and the terms in which they are couched, it is hardly to be imagined how GREATNESS like Napoleon's could have descended to accompany his flagrant falsehoods with such gross scurrility of invective, or couch them in such absurdly inflated terms. In the commencement of his choice production, while alluding to the removal of O'Meara, he hints at a criminal plot. The association of ideas is natural enough, not combined as he would have us understand, but as I shall take leave to point out. He murmurs that no house is built for him, reiterating the old story of the "Unhealthy Barn," which the illustrious foreigners have coupled in their complaints with the "Barren Rock," and made a cry of, in a manner similar to that in which our domestic disturbers of the public peace couple words for particular ends, to which no solid meaning can be attached, and whence no rational inference can be drawn.

Now, as for Longwood, after my account of its situation, it cannot be considered unhealthy. As for its appearance and accommodations,—lest my plebeian ideas of comfort should not accord with those of my readers, or that I should have too mean an opinion of the wants and wishes of Buonaparte, I subjoin two Sketches of the house.

It is certainly not equal to the Tuileries, nor are the gardens comparable with Versailles; but General Buonaparte will please to recollect, that when he inhabited palaces, he was where he had no right to be.—

His residence at Saint Helena is such, in extent of convenience and advantages, as might, by a bounteous Sovereign, have been appropriated to a favored General, retired with honour from the legitimate service of his country, covered with wounds received in its cause ; and I am apt, from a slight knowledge of the rate of pay of foreign officers, to imagine that it must have been a very highly favored General, of great interest and personal connection with the Continental crowned heads, who would, in addition to such a retreat, have received from his king a stipend of little less than twenty thousand pounds per annum to maintain an establishment.

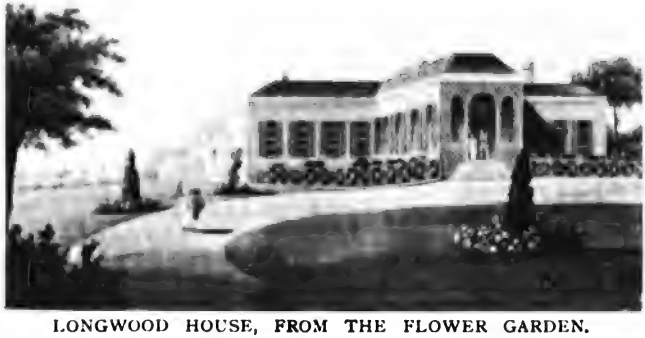
Of the new house, which Buonaparte roundly asserts is not commenced, I also subjoin a View. For elegance and neatness, combined with real comfort in the plan and finishing, for beauty of situation, and fineness of climate, it is perfectly unequalled in the Colony, and (for its extent) certainly not excelled in the Mother Country.

In the view of Old Longwood from the flower garden, it may not be uninteresting to some readers, to point out the private apartments of Buonaparte. The projecting part of the front contains the billiard room, and a drawing room ; and at the back, in the body of the house, the *salle à manger*,—Three of the four windows on the nearer side open from the library, and the four distant ones from the bed room, and dressing room ; behind these are the bath and an inner closet, in which Buonaparte's favorite valet invariably sleeps.

In the new house, the View of which is taken from the kitchen garden, between the gates and the cottage of Lieutenant Jackson of the Royal Staff Corps, the windows in the corridor give light to a drawing room and billiard room ; the large window in the left wing opens into the library, a superb room of beautiful proportion, which, by a vestibule, communicates with Buonaparte's bed room, dressing room, bath, valet's



THE NEW RESIDENCE OF NAPOLEON.



LONGWOOD HOUSE, FROM THE FLOWER GARDEN.



LONGWOOD HOUSE, FROM THE ROAD TO DEADWOOD.

THE THREE ILLUSTRATIONS PUBLISHED IN THEODORE HOOK'S ORIGINAL BOOK.

room, and all necessary conveniences.—The *salle à manger* is in the middle of the house, and communicates with the apartments in front; the right wing, containing a capital suite of apartments, is, at his desire, appropriated to the Montholon family, who at present reside in that part of Old Longwood (plate 1), which appears from the road, with a pediment over four windows, opening to the park.

The distant buildings adjoining the new house, are the kitchens, stables, servants' offices, &c.—Count Bertrand's residence is not visible in the view which I have made, but stands within twenty yards of the gates, and has been fitted up for him very comfortably.

In his Note, Buonaparte says, or rather the translation has it, "*They have made attempts* on my *Physician*, and forced him to resign, rather than remain here a *passive instrument*." If any attempts were made upon Mr. O'Meara at Longwood, to render him a passive instrument, they were most likely made by the *great* man himself.* But now, of this *Physician*, who, perhaps I ought to observe, is the volunteer surgeon of the

* Till I arrived in England, this memorandum appeared to me inexplicable, nor could I imagine the inference which Buonaparte intended should be drawn from it, but I was enlightened by a question put to me by a man endowed with a certain degree of common sense, and put to me with such earnestness, as really to induce me to believe him serious; this question was, Whether I had not heard in Saint Helena, that Sir Hudson Lowe had tampered with Mr. O'Meara to undermine the health of Buonaparte by art?

I could not have conceived such an idea to have entered into the imagination of any human being—it is hardly credible—for under the circumstances of Mr. O'Meara's demission, it is not very probable that he would allow such a transaction to remain in doubt a moment, nor pause to satiate his revenge on Sir Hudson, in the decided manner, proof of such an act would enable him to do. What motive Sir Hudson could possibly have for such a desire it would be difficult to surmise; for putting the *secondary* crimes of murder, assassination in cold blood, the violation of the faith of nations, &c., &c., wholly out of the question, policy would hardly lead one man to destroy another, purely for the sake of *losing twelve thousand pounds per annum.—Note by Hook.*

Bellerophon, who accompanied Buonaparte to Saint Helena, much is to be said. Probably, before I reach my beloved country, so much will have been disclosed, as to have anticipated many of my remarks, and superseded the necessity of my being explicit. However, to shew how much reason Buonaparte has to lament the loss of a sincere friend, I shall merely mention, that a conversation took place at the house of Mr. Porteous, in James Town, a few days subsequent to the arrival of the *Northumberland* at Saint Helena, in which several persons participated, and at which was present, amongst others, a lady of the name of Knipe. In the course of that day's dialogue Mr. O'Meara said, he considered NAPOLEON AS AN OPPRESSED MAN, AND THAT IT WAS THE DUTY OF EVERY BODY TO ASSIST HIM. I ask whether such an expression, —if not *verbatim*, at least containing all the *pith* and *matter*, did not drop from Mr. O'Meara?—I answer, I KNOW IT DID.

I shall now call my reader's attention to a paragraph in the "SECRET HISTORY OF THE CABINET OF SAINT CLOUD,"* published by Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, once editor of an English Journal in Paris, and now, as I believe, proprietor of a paper called the Anti-Gallican Monitor,† in which appeared the advertisement in cypher before alluded to.—In this Secret History, at page 18, "on Treaties," is a paragraph containing a list of persons openly and fearlessly denounced, as having been employed by Napoleon to

* "The Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte," by Lewis Goldsmith, appeared in 1810. Some account of Goldsmith will be found in "Napoleon and His Fellow Travellers." He also wrote "The Crimes of Cabinets," "An Exposition of the Conduct of France towards America," and many other works, including "Statistics of France" so late as 1832. Goldsmith did actually publish a statement that the O'Meara he had referred to (see opposite page) was not the same, Barry O'Meara being, in fact, but twelve years old at the time.

† I am inclined to believe this paper is no longer published.—*Note by Hook.*

negociate measures for a co-operation in Ireland, in case of an invasion of that kingdom by the armies of France; in which list appears the name of O'MEARA.

It would be highly satisfactory to the public if Mr. Goldsmith would inform them whether the Mr. O'Meara, of whom such honourable mention is made by him, as having been used "*pour espionner ses camarades,*" the most debased and contemptible of all spies, be any relation of Napoleon's *Physician*, on whom attempts have been made at Saint Helena?—Goldsmith's O'Meara is described as having been in the army;—Napoleon's *Physician* was in the army too before he entered the navy:—why he quitted it, official documents will shew.—That he has been also struck out of the navy, it is hardly necessary to add.

I do not pretend to identify the person; but should it be, and it is within the pale of possibility, nay, of probability, the *very individual*,—it would be a most curious coincidence.

And another most curious coincidence is, that Mr. *Lewis* Solomon, a jeweller and watch-maker, at James Town, (whose name, by the way, I believe not to be Solomon) is an acquaintance, and may, for all I know, be a relation of Mr. *Lewis* Goldsmith; HE was also the intimate acquaintance of Mr. O'Meara, at Saint Helena, and was in the habit of furnishing newspapers for *his* PRIVATE AMUSEMENT AT LONGWOOD. Doubtless the person who inserted the advertisement in the Anti-Gallican Monitor, was well aware of this intimacy, and did not consider it unlikely that Mr. Goldsmith's *own* paper would be amongst those lent by his friend to the Longwood *Physician*.—To shew that Mr. O'Meara and Lewis Solomon were on terms of confidential correspondence, I shall take leave to mention an anecdote concerning a snuff-box, which will, I trust, not prove uninteresting on other accounts.

The Reverend Mr. Boys, one of the colonial chaplains, some time previous to O'Meara's removal, being on the eve of departure for Europe, received as a gift from Buonaparte, by the hands of O'Meara, a snuff-box.—Mr. Boys felt very awkward in accepting a present from the foreigners, not through the medium of the English Government, and being obliged to sail without seeing O'Meara, he sent the box to his (O'Meara's) friend, Mr. L. Solomon, leaving it at his shop, with a letter for the *Physician*, telling him that he should be happy to take it if he could get it sent to him through the proper channel, as laid down by the Island Regulations on the subject: but that from *him* he begged to decline receiving it. At the same time Mr. Boys wrote to the Reverend Mr. Vernon, the other Island chaplain, acquainting him with the circumstance, and, I believe, requesting Mr. Vernon to obtain the Governor's sanction to the present.

The matter creating some surprise, Mr. O'Meara was called upon for an explanation, which he gave in a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, the military secretary. In this letter, he stated, that Cipriani, Buonaparte's butler, having died, both Mr. Vernon and Mr. Boys, although the man was a Roman Catholic, attended his corpse to the grave; that Montholon was directed by Buonaparte to inquire what remuneration those gentlemen expected for their trouble, and that he, O'Meara, had taken upon himself to say, that no pecuniary recompence would be received by either of them; on which Montholon and he agreed, that a snuff-box should be presented to each of the clergymen, and twenty-five pounds to the poor.

This story, plausible and well-arranged as it was (for Boys was gone), unfortunately did not reach the Governor, till Mr. Vernon had mentioned Mr. Boys' letter, which, in some degree, weakened the assertions

made in it by proving that Montholon had *nothing to do with the box*, which came direct through O'Meara to Boys; that Mr. Vernon, who had shown equal respect to Cipriani's remains, had never heard of such a present being intended, and, moreover, that the poor were *minus* their twenty-five pounds, said to have been promised by Montholon.

Mr. Vernon having mentioned the matter, proceeded to shew Mr. Boys' letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, and coming down to James Town for the purpose, one of the first persons he met was O'Meara, to whom he mentioned the circumstances as they had occurred, and his consequent business in town. "Written to you, has he?" said O'Meara; "then he has taken the surest method in the world of ruining me for ever."—One thing remained to be done, and Mr. O'Meara tried it; —he begged Mr. Vernon to destroy Boys' letter, which he actually had in his hand at the moment.—Mr. Vernon argued the impossibility of doing such a thing, inasmuch as he had informed the Governor of his having received it.—"Destroy it for God's sake," said O'Meara, "or give it to me now, and I'll tear it up before your face, and then you can say it has been destroyed."—Mr. Vernon refused to do any such thing; "for," said he, "I have declared that I have this letter, and supposing I were now to equivocate, as you wish me and destroy it, what advantage would it be, since the contents are known verbatim by the Governor?"—"Oh," said O'Meara, "AS FOR WHAT IS SAID, THAT CAN BE DENIED, AND I DO NOT CARE ABOUT IT, BUT WHAT IS WRITTEN, REMAINS AGAINST ME!!!"

This matter of fact detail of a conversation somewhat illustrative of character, I give as nearly verbatim as my recollection has allowed me;—what motive Buonaparte had in making the present to Mr. Boys, we have yet to

learn, but there can be little hesitation in pronouncing the conduct of that Gentleman, in the instance of this transaction, exactly that which it ought to have been.

Mr. O'Meara's friends at home, however, appear to have been more successful in their unintentional exertions to *ruin him for ever*, than even Mr. Boys; for shortly after the *Physician* had left Saint Helena, a letter, accompanied by a parcel of French Books, arrived from England, addressed to *James Forbes, Esq.*—No such person as Mr. Forbes being in the Island, and no person appearing at the house of the *person*, where the packet was to be left till called for, that *person* begged to decline having any thing to do with the books; and, in order to ascertain to whom they ought to be forwarded, the letter accompanying them was opened by the proper authorities; when lo and behold, the Epistle, proving more than was necessary, began, "*Dear O'Meara.*"—This circumstance, had no other occurred, would have fully warranted the removal of the *Physician* from Longwood. Never was contrivance more bungling:—surely the man who would recognise a letter as being for him, under the address of James Forbes, would be equally aware for whom its contents were intended if it had been continued in the same name within; * but luckily for all good causes,

"Magna est veritas, et prevalebit."

and Providence so ordains it, that the omissions of plotters themselves, oftener discover the most in-

* I find that the person who wrote this letter, and sent the books, has most openly and candidly avowed himself,—his frankness is very amiable, and loses not the least of its value, by the consideration that his name was perfectly well known at Saint Helena five months ago; why the masquerade style of correspondence should have been adopted I do not so clearly perceive; there are doubtless good reasons for it, and strong ones too, which could induce a *Physician* like Mr. O'Meara, to tack an *alias* to his name.—*Note by Hook.*

famous conspiracies and machinations, than the exertions of those conspired against, or the most rigorous search the law can institute.

I would ask any man, by way of reply to Buonaparte's complaints about Mr. O'Meara, or Mr. O'Meara's complaints about himself, whether the Governor of Saint Helena was not fully justified in removing from attendance on his prisoner, a man of whom we know so much, (DENY IT WHO DARE!) and of whom doubtless he knows *much more.*

As for the bulletins issued about Buonaparte's health, to deceive the Prince and the People of England, I confess I never heard of them. Had Doctor Verling seen him, and issued accounts contrary to truth, they might have had (supposing it worth while) the effect of a *temporary* deception, or at least indicated a desire to deceive; but, as Buonaparte states that he has never seen the Medical Man, and the Medical Man says precisely the same thing, of course the Medical Man is not very likely to take upon himself to say anything more about him. General Buonaparte should know that it is neither in the nature nor power of the English Government to deceive the people on such points:—even were it their policy,—the Constitution of the Country does not permit it.—He judges of the possibility of concealment from his personal experience in Government;—but not all the influence of the King of England, Lords, Commons, and Ministers, can stifle the voice of truth;—what would be the object if they could? Buonaparte's object everybody must see through;—to be removed from Saint Helena:—if he chose to submit himself to medical advice, the real state of his constitution would be easily ascertained;—that he is anxious for more reasons than one to conceal. In short, in the persiflage of his eighth note, he is, if possible, more incomprehensible than in his fifth and sixth, in which he

makes assertions unsupported by any fact whatever, and neither gives us a reason for what he says, nor an explanation of what he means. He states that he is hindered from using horse exercise, by having the uncontrolled privilege of riding; that from being permitted to receive company, he is debarred from seeing visitors; and in the eighth note he tells us that he is deprived of medical advice, by having a Doctor of Physic in attendance on him: he next complains that this Doctor is ignorant of his constitution and disorder, and then, lest he should be better acquainted with them, which would remedy that grievance, he positively refuses to see him. Now, as I before said, the publicity of the fact which he mentions, and which doubtless is as notorious in England as at Saint Helena, that he has not yet seen Doctor Verling professionally, puts it out of the power of any human being, (supposing such a thing to be wished) to impose upon people by bulletins, or professional intelligence of Buonaparte's health, of which nothing can be known farther than can be collected from the casual view taken of him by the orderly officer at Longwood, the testimony of those in attendance on him, or his general appearance when he condescends to come out. In short, the whole of the production is a string of Paradoxes, which the great Author leaves unexplained and unenlightened, and when dispassionately looked at with facts, resembles more the senseless sputterings of a fretful child, than the rational remonstrance of A SUFFERING HERO.

He says, "They indulge in a *ferocious smile* at my increased sufferings." "They,"—who does he mean? not the commissioners, for reckless of their frowns or smiles, he has never seen them;—it must be either Sir Hudson Lowe, the ASSASSIN, for whose public punishment he calls, or Sir Thomas Reade,—who, to do him justice, is very frequently smiling, how ferociously, those who

know him best can best determine. That I came into Saint Helena prejudiced by various publications against Sir Hudson Lowe's system of government, and consequently in some degree against himself personally, I have before avowed. I knew nothing of Sir Hudson,—or had ever seen him. Conformably with the intention of searching after truth, which I mentioned in page 174 the view I took of his conduct was a strict view—a jealous view; it was not with the anticipation or desire of finding out good traits in his character;—it was in the expectation of discovering and exposing bad ones, that I commenced my scrutiny,—I let no opportunity slip of carrying my point.

When I say that I resolved to examine a Governor's character with the determination of finding fault, I would be understood distinctly to mean *not* that I went into a Colony with "malice prepense and afore-thought," to accuse or criminate; but that the general impression which had been made upon my mind by the *still unanswered* assertions of persons, in some cases individually respectable, and *in all* evidently possessing information on the subject of which they treated, was, that in the course of my inquiries I should have seen such conduct as would have called upon me to speak in terms of reprobation of the Governor's conduct towards his charge.

Had not the merest chance in the world placed me on Saint Helena, Mr. Las Cases' description of Sir Hudson Lowe's character, on which I founded my opinion, coupled with Napoleon's stronger designations, would have remained impressed on my mind as a resemblance. I should have seen the tyrant keeper worrying his captive through the gratings of his den; and led on by the writers of the opposite party and the force of imagination, beheld him pursuing his system of torment, till his exhausted charge gave up the ghost, and "BEQUEATHED THE OPPROBRIUM OF HIS

DEATH TO THE REIGNING HOUSE OF ENGLAND!"

It must be confessed that one of the minor evils attendant on that constitutional blessing, "the freedom of the press," is the weight which published assertions have on the mind until replied to; and a greater evil for that part of the population of England, who, like myself, are led by what they read, is the apathetic indifference which our Government, at home and abroad, universally display for the literary labours of their opponents.—It is true that men, conscious of their innocence, disdain such attacks, and in their own circle stand honourably acquitted; but a work like that of Mr. Santini, or Mr. Las Cases, or the Observations on my Lord Bathurst's Speech, goes into the world, and how can I, or thousands of humble subjects, not in the secret, be aware of the fallacy of things set forth in such publications, unless it be pointed out in some equally public manner; and the contradiction of equally easy access, disseminated amongst an equal number of unenlightened people.

It was for the want of some such refutation that I became completely bigoted against the proceedings at Saint Helena, and the principal persons concerned, without knowing anything about them, more than I had gathered from these demi-official although anonymous works;—what then was my surprise to find in the man characterised by Buonaparte and his adherents, both in the Colony and at home, as a tyrant and an assassin, a being not only amiable in the highest degree in private life and general society, but with a rigid sense of duty, feelingly alive to the peculiar situation of his prisoner, and actively employed in the contrivance of comforts for him. A day scarcely passes in which Sir Hudson Lowe is not personally superintending the building of the new house at Longwood, nor in which he does not

endeavour, with perfect regard to his captive's security, to contribute to his accommodation.

Let us see how Sir Hudson Lowe fulfils all the social duties of life, as father, husband, and friend;—trace him into the bosom of his family, surrounded by all the beauty, accomplishments, blooming gaiety, and healthful innocence of its various branches;—let us, while we contemplate this excellent man in his domestic circle, remember the noble traits of munificence which have marked his conduct during his government; and then for a moment imagine, the heart in which valour, friendship, and charity flourish, the soil for feelings which could induce him to aggravate wantonly and unnecessarily the pains and privations of a prisoner committed to his charge.

The instances of Sir Hudson Lowe's munificence to which I have alluded, I could easily record, but the feelings of others are to be spared. Justice demanded that I should say thus much, delicacy forbids my saying more.

Why Buonaparte, in referring to the great question of the right of England over him, should mix up Sir Hudson in his observations and attacks, no better reason can be given, than for the personal animosity (now so fashionable) of convicted criminals toward the judges who pass sentence on them for violation of law, previously proved to the satisfaction of a jury:—nay, Buonaparte can have hardly so much cause for his violence as those men; for neither was the question of his confinement submitted to Sir Hudson, nor the sentence conveyed to Napoleon through him.—All these matters were settled by higher authorities than either Generals Lowe or Buonaparte; and the result was, that the latter was declared a prisoner, and the former appointed to the important trust of keeping him one.

How these persons could come in contact personally, it would be difficult to find out; save, that it formed part

of Buonaparte's *policy* to quarrel even with the representative of the English government. He must know what the Governor's duty is in Saint Helena, and one would think, as a disciplinarian, he would, if he had one grain of candour or generosity in his composition, esteem the man who fulfilled that duty scrupulously and conscientiously. On one occasion when Sir Thomas Reade (who is Deputy-Adjutant-General) went to him to make some communication, Buonaparte began, with his characteristic impetuosity, to foam and grunt, on which Sir Thomas told him, that he hoped he would not fly into a passion; that such an order was given, and that his duty was merely to convey it to him. Buonaparte curbed his violence, (which, by the way, was not likely to have made any very forcible impression on Sir Thomas, if he had not) and said, "True, true,—you are a soldier —you have only to obey." If he were to apply the same words to Sir Hudson, he would probably consider his conduct in a different point of view from that in which he appears to regard it now; or rather, he would confess what his real feelings towards him were;—those, I mean, which his *policy* induces him to conceal; for as to his considering himself tyrannically treated, sincerely he DOES NOT—HE CANNOT; but it is in his mind the game to play, to work upon the generosity and humanity of the English nation, and induce the people to call for his removal from his distant jeopardy;—like Philoctetus calling on Pyrrhus to rescue him from Lemnos, he is careless of the mode in which he is to be relieved; and as he considers the end to justify the means, would submit to every possible artifice and stratagem to get any where else:—

"——— Tire-moi des lieux où ma misère
M'a long-temps separé de la nature entière;
Jette-moi dans un coin du vaisseau qui te porte,
A la poupe, à la proue, où tu voudras,—*n'importe.*" *

* La Harpe.

One circumstance strongly marks the general character of the Longwood *Court.*—In the recapitulation of all their grievances, or the enumeration of their wants and wishes, none of them have ever expressed the slightest desire for religious assistance. On their departure from England, Madame Bertrand called for cards, and the illustrious Napoleon for a back-gammon board, but none of them ever thought of a spiritual comforter.

When Emperor of the French, Napoleon attended Mass with a brace of Cardinals at his chair's back, posted there to turn over the leaves of his book. One day, when Cardinals Fesch and Caprari were on this honourable duty, and Buonaparte had been wholly inattentive to the service, he called an Aid-du-Camp, desired his carriage might be drawn up, and the drums beat for his departure; this was done; he immediately rose, and, *selon la règle*, every body else in the church rose too. Marshals, Princes, Bishops, Cardinals, Judges, and Ladies, all were on their feet in an instant, to pay respect to the Emperor. All the Court attended his Imperial Majesty to his coach-door, where he relieved them from attendance, desiring them to go back and pray; and the Court having accordingly bowed and fawned, and smiled and humbled themselves to the *Emperor!* returned in due order to complete their *secondary* duty to GOD!

His perfect carelessness on the important subject of Religion, now, proves the *sincerity* of his conduct then, and completely establishes him as one of those, who, Molière says—

> " ——— par une âme à l'intérêt soumise,
> Font de devotion, metier et marchandise,
> Et veulent acheter credit et dignités,
> A prix de faux clins d' yeux et d' élans affectés."

of which order of personages England herself, by the way, possesses no small number at this present moment.

One would think, however strongly the seared conscience of Napoleon might hold it out without the aid of religion, that the Bertrands and Montholons, who have families growing up around them, would feel some anxiety upon this subject; superadded to which it is surprising that no demand has been made for a Roman Catholic Priest* on the score of *policy*—as it might, if refused, be a fresh cause of complaint; and if granted, be the means of introducing into their circle a personage who would, if well educated, and well recommended by some of the Ex-Emperor's *political* friends in England, be found, by no means an useless addition to a family, where deception and intrigue are the orders of the day.

The sabbath is marked at Longwood by no other form or ceremony, than the observance of so much of the Decalogue as directs abstinence from labour. Buonaparte does not write or employ Montholon on Sundays; —no other distinction is made, and it is really melancholy to see a community, than whom none of GOD'S creatures more require the aid of religion, passing their hours not only without the fulfilment of its external forms, but apparently having lost sight of the necessity of its duties, and the comfort of its observances.

Several works, I believe, have been written, which treat of Saint Helena, although I do not recollect to have seen any of them, and I do not profess to give any account of the Island as a traveller; yet, as in all the letters, papers, remarks, memoranda, and observations of the Napoleons they are pleased to call it "a barren rock," I shall take leave to say so much upon the subject, as may tend to undeceive those persons who have formed their opinion on this erroneous designation.

* Two Roman Catholic Priests sent by Cardinal Fesch, MM. Buonavita and Vignali, arrived at St. Helena, Sept. 21st, 1818. The Abbé Buonavita left St. Helena March 17th, 1821, as he felt the place was killing him. The Abbé Vignali ministered at the Emperor's death-bed, May 5th 1821.

On an approach, the island has nothing to recommend it. Any hopes a very sanguine man might however form on making the land, are crushed on a nearer view at the anchorage; the brown barren fronts of the almost perpendicular mountains (surrounding James Town), on whose rugged soil nothing seems to thrive but cannon, impart but one idea—that of a natural fortress of stupendous size, formed by the hands of Providence as a place of confinement for some general enemy of mankind. Madame Bertrand, on her first view of it, was stricken with a notion, which, very French as it is, has some humour in it; she, (as I believe it is generally known) attributed its origin to a source little less romantic, though somewhat less elevated than that to which I have traced it;—"*Le diable,*" said she, "*a —— cette isle en volant des cieux,*" which though extremely *naïve* while rolling over a French Countess's lips, I would rather not repeat *verbatim*, lest it should meet some less exalted Englishwoman's eye —such is either the habitual difference between the females of France and those of England, or such my *unfortunate* prejudice in favour of the good taste and delicacy of my own country-women.

On landing at James Town, the prospect is pleasingly changed and presents to the eye a remarkably neat, well-built, though small town.

Proceeding into the country, by either Side Path or Ladder Hill, the stranger is completely surprised, after travelling three miles, to find himself at the height of twelve or fourteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, in a most luxuriantly fertile country. For miles on every side the eye rests on valleys of the most beautiful verdure, thickly studded with highly cultivated farms;—the road from Plantation House to Sandy Bay, one of the most lovely and romantic spots in the world, winds through European hedges of hawthorn and

blackberry bushes, and at Kason's Gate brings the traveller to a view almost unequalled for boldness of scenery, richness of foliage, verdure, and cultivation; so strong a contrast of country, and so varied an assemblage of objects, are rarely, if ever concentrated, as in the prospect from the hill above Mr. Doveton's villa at Sandy Bay.*

The whole of the country, from this spot round to Rock Rose Hill, where a romantic cottage belonging to the widow of Captain Barnes, offers its hospitable shelter to the weary traveller, is literally superb, and the fine bold view stretching to Prosperous Bay, is beautifully contrasted with the verdant sweetness of Arno's vale, and the cloud-topped wood on the summit of Diana's Peak; hence gaining the road to Hut's Gate, and passing along the range of country, by the road made expressly for Buonaparte, the eye is gratified with an entirely new and lovely prospect,—the house and grounds of Miss Mason. Rose Cottage with its shady ponds and drooping willows, and Prospect Hall, on its rising terrace, enliven the deep vale round which the way leads. Turning on the right, towards Long-

* Of the unsophistication of the *Saint Helenians*, or, as they are called, the *Yamstalks!* Mr. Doveton, a native, and for many years *Member of Council*, affords a living example, not less extraordinary than the Lady of the Island, who inquired whether London was not very dull after the *China Fleet had sailed!*—This Gentleman, almost immediately on his arrival in Town, happened accidentally to meet Lady Pulteney Malcolm, in one of the streets of the City; rejoiced at recognising a well-known face, he addressed her, but finding the crowd rather troublesome, he asked her whether they had not better wait to converse till the *procession had passed!* And another native, a Lady, on landing at Gravesend, asked the first person she met on the shore, if he could tell her whereabouts in the Island *Major Pery* lived. Since my return to Europe, Mr. W. W. Doveton has received the honour of Knighthood; and never was mark of favour bestowed more likely to be gratifying to a community, than this, to that, in which, for amiability of disposition, and goodness of heart, he has been so long esteemed.—*Note by Hook.*

wood, an entirely different face of country presents itself, and the bold ravine, known by the name of the Devil's Punch Bowl, (or, as General Gourgaud used to call it, "*the Devil's bowl of punch,*") forms a grand and decided opposition to the verdant Race Course and Camp Ground of Dedwood, and the Park and Plantations of Longwood House, which stands in a commanding situation, on the right hand of the road, from which it is distant about a quarter of a mile.

Returning towards Town, a cottage near the Alarm House, belonging to Sir Thomas Reade, meets the eye: (this post is the boundary of Buonaparte's rides unattended, on this side of the Island:) good taste and great attention, are fast rendering this once barren spot richly fertile, and it soon promises to vie in luxuriance with the residence of Mr. Brooke, the Chief Secretary,* which is placed on the other side of the hill.—From this spot looking towards Plantation House, the eye traverses another tract of highly cultivated country, and the villas of Sir George Bingham, Mr. Desfontaine, and others, diversify the view with the different coloured foliages in which they are half buried.

Plantation House is a comfortable residence, placed on an extensive lawn, and surrounded by a profusion of magnificent trees; here the bamboo of India, the oak of England, and the pine of Norway flourish together, and form a novel and charming embellishment for the retreat of the Governor from the cares of business.

In the course of a wandering life, I never saw so great a variety of objects combined, as are thrown together in Saint Helena. The bold and imposing appearance of High Knoll, rising from a calm and lovely valley;

* T. H. Brooke, the author of a "History of the Island of St. Helena." 1st edition, 1808, 2nd edition, 1824, *see* Appendix.

the rich softness of the verdure, opposed to the brown and barren rocks which skirt the shore, and here and there intrude themselves on the sight; the well-stocked farms mingled with patches of country evidently volcanic, and the magnificent extent of horizon which bounds almost every view, render the Island of Saint Helena, so far from being an uncomfortable or unpleasant residence, a retreat replete with interest and attraction. Under the government of Sir Hudson Lowe every spot, where cultivation can be introduced, is growing into utility; and taken altogether, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing the colony to be so rapidly improving, that in a few years, under the same system of encouragement, it may be independent of any foreign aid for supplies of grain; at least it is fair to imagine so, judging from what has been done already, and what is actually doing: should this be achieved, no power on earth could subdue the possessors of Saint Helena.

It has been erroneously supposed, and indeed stated, by Mr. Las Cases, that the Island is injured by being the residence of Napoleon;—it is, probably, the only country which has not suffered from his presence. Two or three shopkeepers in James Town, feel the difference, inasmuch as since his detention, the East India Company, with their acknowledged liberality, have established stores, whence the military or others are supplied with all articles of English or Indian produce, at a moderate rate. This destruction of a monopoly, carried on in its full vigour by the tradesmen of the place, while ships were in the habit of touching here, lessens their profits, and the interruption of the American trade is also felt by them: but the inhabitants of the country, generally, the farmers and planters, are greatly benefitted by the influx of troops, and of the *détenus* themselves, from the increased demand for all the neces-

saries of life, and the consequent encouragement given to industry and labour.*

Of the excellence of the climate it is only necessary to adduce, as proof, the general appearance of the inhabitants.—The men are commonly powerful and athletic; the women, healthful and robust: the younger females are most bountifully furnished with *feminine* attractions,—the figure of a girl of fifteen in Saint Helena, is that of a mother of thirty any where else; and as for women of a maturer age, it really appeared to me, as if one of the treaties mentioned in the *Spectator*, had taken place between them and an opposing male army, about eight months before my arrival, for I cannot at this moment call to mind having met one individual female of a certain standing, who was not—

"As ladies wish to be, who love their lords."

In the town, as well as the country, improvements are making;—a new sessions house and prison, a new guard room, and an assembly room, are about to be constructed, which will add to the appearance, security, and amusements of the little capital of the Island: new batteries are also erecting at certain parts of the coast. It struck me as curious, that not so much attention appears to have been paid to the strengthening one position, as its importance seems to deserve;—I mean Rupert's Hill. This mountain rises nearly perpendicularly from the sea, and separates James Valley (in which the town stands) from Rupert's Valley; from

* The Letter about the carriage, which I have before noticed, contains a statement of a debt due from the people at Longwood, which the tradesmen cannot get hold of, from the fact of their being prohibited from having any communication with the servants of the establishment;—this is a very curious reason for a delay in the payment of this imaginary debt, for Marchand, Buonaparte's Valet, is generally in James Town two or three times during the week, and in all the shops in the place making purchases, and executing commissions for his *great* master.—*Note by Hook.*

both sides it is unassailable:—a fort capable of containing from two to three hundred men, erected on this hill, would command the two valleys, the town, and the whole of the anchorage. It is approachable only from the interior, by a narrow path over a steep ridge of country, between two ravines, which can only be gained at a distance of three miles inland, if the land side were fortified, a fort on the height would be invulnerable. It is true, it might be commanded on one of its flanks by Ladder Hill, but not within breaching distance: there are probably some weighty reasons for not taking advantage of this spot, which, being no engineer, I am unable to discover; but, to a person unskilled in arms, it seems a most formidable fast hold, and fully as worthy notice as any other point in the Island.

Although not strictly within my province, or the object of my search, I cannot avoid touching here, on the subject of the pay of His Majesty's Naval Officers, in the Colony of Saint Helena.

From the exorbitancy of the price of every article of life in the Island, and on the general system of liberality in all pecuniary matters, uniformly acted upon by the Honourable East India Company, the whole of the Military Officers in the garrison, receive an allowance exactly doubling their pay, and this, with a few variations in the *mode* of payment, is the case universally wherever the King's troops are in the Company's territories: in the same manner the commanders and officers of His Majesty's ships on the India station, receive similar allowances. At Saint Helena, although the rule is observed with respect to the military, although it is a colony avowedly belonging to the East India Company, officered by their civilians, and garrisoned, in a great measure, by their troops, the navy receive no extra allowance whatever.

If in India it be considered just and fair to the navy,

to grant the additional pay as a remuneration for distant service, or its generally unprofitable sameness, the navy at Saint Helena have a stronger claim upon the consideration of the Company, for the wearisome and uninteresting duty of cruising to windward and leeward. If in India it be granted to meet the expenses of living, how much stronger are the reasons for according it at Saint Helena, where the price of every article of consumption is at least three hundred per cent. dearer than in England; and, as far as provisions are concerned, five hundred per cent. dearer than in India. In Madras a sheep will cost about half a crown, in Saint Helena the price of a *consumptive duck is ten shillings!*

It is melancholy to think, that a gallant Captain of the Navy, who after a series of hard services is rewarded with a Post-ship, and as a still greater mark of his merit employed in peace, should, while on this irksome station, where neither credit nor profit can accrue to him, be obliged to consolidate half a week's income in the purchase of a roasted turkey, and a couple of boiled fowls. Such is, however, the case, hard as it may appear. It may be argued, that Saint Helena, in fact belongs, as far as naval matters go, to the Cape station:—it is true, literally speaking, that it does:—but under the circumstances, instead of one ship being detached from the Cape to the Island, as formerly, when the flag was at that place, the whole squadron, together with the Admiral, are fixed in Saint Helena; which must in every point of view (except the name) be *now* considered the naval head-quarters.

It may also be argued, that the residence of Buonaparte in Saint Helena, is no advantage to the East India Company, and that therefore it is not incumbent upon them to burthen themselves with allowances to officers who would not be there, were it not his place of confinement. This, however, is without much diffi-

culty answered, by adducing the fact, that Mauritius, a king's government, with which the Company have no more to do than I have, is supplied with ships from the Indian squadron, and the officers on *that* station, receive the additional allowance;—not from the *Island*, but from the *Company*.

That the necessity of granting an increased pay, has been under discussion, may be easily ascertained, by observing, that the Admiral receives an allowance of fifteen hundred pounds per annum, as table money, in addition to his six guineas per diem, as Naval Commander-in-Chief, from the Crown.

As the Company, I believe, pay all their allowances monthly, it might be so arranged, that the naval allowance at Saint Helena should cease from the period at which any ship took its departure for the Cape, at which settlement, the additional pay would neither be expected nor required.

The hospitalities of Plantation House are such, as to render it difficult for a Captain of the Navy often to engage himself on shore any where else; (except now and then, as in duty bound, to the Admiral), but it is not to the kindness or attention of an individual family, that Officers on service are to be seriously indebted for the evitation of pecuniary inconvenience.

If these remarks apply to the Captains commanding, how much more strongly to the Officers, of the several gun-rooms on the station. In India, I believe, excepting the Captain, the Officers of King's ships do not receive any separate allowance, but a certain sum is granted annually to the mess of each man-of-war collectively. If this were ever done, Saint Helena is of all places in the world, the spot to do it.—Conceive a Lieutenant in the Navy, ranking probably with the senior Captain in the garrison, living at Saint Helena, on £11. 10. 0. per month, which, if disbursed in fresh

provisions, would barely furnish the moiety of a fowl per day,—independent of vegetables.

Surely the case has not been fairly represented at home, through the channel most conducive to its success, or there must be some strong reason not immediately evident, for withholding the almost necessary increase of income on the part of the Company, who have always been distinguished as the most liberal and munificent paymasters in the world.

I have to apologise for this digression, but as I treat of the security of Buonaparte, I hope it will not be taken amiss, either by my readers, or the Officers of the Navy themselves, that I have taken leave to notice the actual inconveniences of some of his most active guardians; but trust, that an effort, however humble, to be useful to that class of men to whom we have for ages looked up as the protectors of our laws, our liberty, and constitution, will be forgiven by all those who enjoy the blessings, they have so eminently tended to preserve.

I have subjoined a copy of the Port Regulations of the Colony, which will serve to shew the rigid attention paid *coast-wise* to the prisoner's security. After sunset the gates of James Town are shut, and the bridge drawn up, so that communication with the shore is impracticable.—This deserves to be mentioned, as it adds not a little to the *désagrémens* of the junior branches of the Naval service.

I cannot here avoid noticing, that since my return to Europe, I have by chance met with a pamphlet, called "*Letters from Saint Helena,*"* written by the Master of a Merchant ship, to whom (without then suspecting him of authorship on the subject) I slightly have alluded to in the foregoing pages. This gentleman is a Lieutenant on the half-pay of our Navy! and was a prisoner in

* "Letters from the Island of St. Helena exposing the unnecessary severity exercised towards Napoleon," 1818.

France, and treated with the utmost rigour under the government of Napoleon. It must, however, be allowed, that by his own confessions on the subject, he admits that the severities to which he was for a time exposed, were brought upon himself by violation of parole, and other irregularities of conduct; and that any government would have been justified in using the coercion he for a time suffered, and from which he was released by order of the then Emperor.

Be all this as it may, his pamphlet abounds not only with insinuations against Sir Hudson Lowe, but with a number of specific charges, all of which it would have been perfectly easy to have combated and refuted, had it been necessary; but the author has kindly taken upon himself the duty of upsetting, by facts adduced by himself, the very accusations he previously makes; and, as far as I can see, leaves no one accusation against Sir Hudson Lowe, unrefuted. He makes them by dozens, but, like Penelope, destroys regularly in one page, the web of aspersions which he has woven in another.

In the outset of his book, he says, that having landed at James Town, and mentioned Napoleon's name, calling him at the same time the *Emperor*, (he might with as much propriety have called him the Pope,) his Saint Helena friend cries, "Hush, hush—don't speak so loud; it is a crime to call him Emperor here, or say any thing that is good of him."—This, considering the difficulty of the task, I conclude the friend thought, might have been meritorious. To this our literary schipper answers very characteristically, if not elegantly,—"What, what do you mean?—*Zounds!* am I not in an English harbour? am I not an Englishman? I will speak my mind, and that freely, as becomes *one*,"—(said feelings, being of course to be expressed in a soliloquy)—"*Those who don't like it may lump it*—come, here's his health in a bumper, he is no longer our enemy."

Well then, the friend having hushed his newly-arrived guest into a corner when they were alone, lest they should be overheard, invites him to dinner—at which every body's opinion—that is, the opinion of two other Masters of merchant ships, perfectly coincided with the author's; *nobody else speaking*, for fear of some despotic power which bound them; "they all preserved a profound silence, and appeared like so many slaves;" that is, they were all afraid of Sir Hudson Lowe, and Sir Thomas Reade; but with all this extreme awe and terror, when the author asks them what they are afraid of, and whether there are no courts and juries in the place, two or three at once of these panic-stricken mutes, cry out, each it would seem, by their eagerness, anxious to be heard before his neighbour.—"Oh! you are greatly mistaken; there is no occasion *here* for courts of justice, juries, or trial; our Governor here has it in his power to bundle whoever he likes, without trial, or condemnation, on board of a ship, and send them off the Island. The poor devil's shop, his private affairs, and family, *may go to h-ll for aught he cares.*"

This, considering the state of dreadful apprehension the master of the house (who I take to have been Solomon the Jew, or Porteus the gardener) had been thrown into during the morning, lest they should have been overheard, must have been somewhat appalling to his feelings; for, considering that men were not in the habit of *speaking out* at that time, the prose *trio* detailed above, appears to have been so explicit and plain, as could possibly have been expected.

This, however, as we go on, is nothing in comparison with things which are said in every other part of this awe-struck tongue-tied Island.—At the 53rd mess, where the author sits over the bottle till two o'clock, the Officers (speaking of whom, he calls them a "set of devilish fine fellows") enter into a conversation, (prob-

ably rather earlier in the evening,) pleasing, instructive, and *liberal;* they, he says, have but a very indifferent opinion of Sir Hudson Lowe, and think, that some *derangement of brain is at times visible.* On another day, (page 49), " after the wine had circulated pretty freely," some other Officer related an anecdote of the Governor, and gave a narrative of his seizing a servant by the collar under Napoleon's window ; and a day or two after that, the author makes one of a party of five, " *all of the same political sentiments.*"

The author then dines at a " little seat " in the country, where he hears " A MOST HORRIBLE STORY ! "—Two gentlemen, (evidently fixtures on this Isle of mystery, coercion, and secrecy, from their having dined with " *somebody* " on it, some months before), told him that *somebody*, when they had dined with him, said, he thought it a great pity Buonaparte's son had not been strangled.—A few days subsequent to this he goes on board of a ship to Tiffin ; " *after the madeira had circulated pretty freely,*" one of the gentlemen related a story which must have startled the author, from its close resemblance to his own :—now had he been candid enough to have told the tale of himself, as it really happened, an excuse might have been found on the plea of gratitude for his taking a morning bumper to Napoleon, and for his smuggling papers and documents from the Island, contrary not only to local proclamations, but the Act of Parliament.

But for the specific charges :—

In the first place, a Mr. Manning, drest after the manner of the Chinese, brings some fans, toys, and a couple of bottles of snuff, for Buonaparte ;—about the same time a little bust of Napoleon's boy is sent from England, under the care of the gunner of the ship *Baring ;* and a collection of books for *the edification of Madame Bertrand's daughters* from Lady Holland !—

nearly too, at this period Captain Heaviside, of the East India Company's service, appears with a splendid set of chess-men as a present from Mr. Elphinston.

Sir Hudson, through some twenty pages is belaboured with abuse for withholding the bust, hiding the books, keeping back the chess-men, and stopping the snuff;—superadded to which, his infamous conduct in not allowing any person to visit Longwood, proves how necessary concealment is to his black views; and that all comforts are withheld from the innocent sufferers, and their illustrious master, and that they always remain in ignorance of the arrival of any little *soulagemens*.

After all this—after these assertions and declarations of Sir Hudson's tyranny and shameful conduct, we find (at page 52) our old Chinese friend, Mr. Manning, very agreeably engaged in a *tête-à-tête* with Madame Bertrand, to whom, in the "*space of one half hour*," he recounts his travels through Thibet, and his presentation to the grand Lama; at which precise epoch—upon the principle, I suppose, of the appearance of great personages when spoken of—"NAPOLEON DROPS IN," and then, without restraint, coercion, or any thing which could be uncomfortable, he enters into conversation with Mr. Manning, and displays a wonderful deal of knowledge.

I am glad to take this story their own way, because it proves how unconstrained the prisoner's actions are; but looking at dates, I am inclined to believe, that at the period alluded to, Buonaparte never left his house. I may be wrong in this calculation, and trust I am.*

Well, then, Mr. Manning saw Buonaparte.—At page 53, we find, that on the 10th, the Governor himself went

* At page 37, the author says—"I asked if Napoleon had ever visited the camp, but found, that he had not *stirred out for a year*. Query—Where did he *drop* in when he saw Mr. Manning?—*Note by Hook*.

to Longwood, and told Bertrand, that he had some cases for Buonaparte, which had been brought by Mr. Manning, but he had not sent them till he knew whether *he would accept of them.* Bertrand begged they might be sent.—Then Sir Hudson mentions Lady Holland's moral present for the children, and (what the author calls) some "*astronomical playthings,*" and adds, that although they had not been forwarded through Earl Bathurst, as prescribed, he would *take upon himself* to send them up also :—then he mentions the bust of the boy, which, coming by the hands of so very inconsiderable a personage as the *gunner* of a ship *without guns*, Sir Hudson was inclined to believe, was of no value, but merely sent out on speculation ;—the moment, however, Bertrand says, " that any likeness of a son, must be dear to his father," the bust is sent with the moral books, the astronomical playthings, the fans and the bottles of snuff :—but Mr. Elphinston's chessmen, and the Captain who brought them—these chess-men, adorned with N's and imperial crowns, and all sorts of things entirely out of place—what became of them ?—the old story of tyranny and oppression.—I concluded, that Mr. Heaviside had been ordered off the Island, and his chessmen confiscated ; but, at page 92, we find the Captain proceeding to Longwood with the usual pass, and although the indelicacy of having marks of imperial dignity displayed on the toys was evident, yet Sir Hudson decided upon sending them up—again *on his own responsibility.*

Now, fairly and candidly, let any man say, what all this proves ; that Sir Hudson Lowe, instead of acting with unnecessary rigour, or assuming an arbitrary power over his prisoner, or even *acting up* to his orders, which would have prevented the admission of any of the articles (particularly those from Europe), took upon himself to waive the glaring objection against their

admission, and gratify the wishes of the Longwood people. I really do think, that the author of the Letters could not have proved the *personal* attention paid to their desires more satisfactorily by any means than by the statement he himself has made on these subjects.

Further, as a proof that no feeling of hostility or disapprobation existed in Sir Hudson Lowe's mind against the master of the ship in which the bust was exported from England, the author tells us that he subsequently dined several times at Plantation House; and when he quitted Saint Helena, conveyed a strong detachment of the 53rd to India.

But then the *gunner* of the *Baring*—who is here made of importance, and called by the endearing epithets of "poor fellow,"—"honest tar,"—"poor devil,"—and others of a similar nature, he is produced as an ill-used man; it is really charming to see such sympathy between masters of merchant ships and gunners. But how was *he* ill-used?—why, notwithstanding the peculiar recommendation of confidentially bringing out a bust to Buonaparte, the poor interesting gunner was confined to his ship?—coercion again—British liberty shackled—Sicilian police. But, at page 109, we find said gunner proceeding, at the suggestion of the author, to Plantation House to dun the Governor for three hundred pounds, which Bertrand had desired he might have.—Here Sir Hudson gets more mud—more belabouring:—what do you think he did?—nobody, I believe, ever heard of any thing so oppressive:—*he gave the gunner an order on London for the amount immediately.* If that be not tyranny—what is?

In the course of the Letters there is an anecdote of Mr. Fox, at Saint Cloud, finding his own bust with *its nose against the wall*—the point or meaning of which I do not clearly perceive; and another about Mrs. Damer's chiselling out another bust for Buonaparte, and getting

a snuff-box in payment; and a third, which the author learned from the Captain of the P. R. storeship—which I presume means *Prince Regent*;—this, to use a colloquial phrase, is one of the author's own, *fathered* upon this unfortunate wight, and is remarkable only from the leading incident in the hero's adventures. A seaman endeavoured to make his escape from Verdun, and put together a *little bark*, with the branches of trees, covered with linen, which he procured by tearing up his shirt, in which bark he proposed making a *sea voyage*—and then comes this remarkable passage:—The shirt, however, being unfortunately not sufficient, he went "into a neighbouring village and *stole a sheet*;"—the narrative goes on to say, that Buonaparte was so pleased with the ingenuity of this lad, that he sent him back to England, with a new suit of clothes, and pockets full of money.

But lo! and behold! after all the attacks on Government for the interdiction of strangers at Longwood, we find to our great surprise, at page 104, our author himself actually engaged in a personal interview with Napoleon Buonaparte; who is very picturesquely described as sitting with a three-cornered hat on his head, on the stone steps of his house, the sun setting opposite to him.

The author who declares the power of fascination to be possessed by Buonaparte in so eminent a degree, that every body sinks into admiration, respect, love, esteem, and veneration in the course of one interview (which, by the way, if the case, is the strongest possible reason for keeping him a close prisoner);—this author arrives at Longwood at a most critical point of time, and finds the two great luminaries of the world, Buonaparte and the sun, engaged in a sort of distant *tête-à-tête*: here his feelings overcome him; much like those of Humphrey Gubbins towards his mistress,—

" Who, when he got to her,
The devil a word could he say ! "

He was paralysed, and after looking, according to his own account, vastly silly for a certain period of time, Buonaparte, in his usual *fascinating manner*, gave him a look, which he says implied, " *there, go about your business :* " and accordingly he retired, not having gained much by his unrestrained interview with the Idol of his affections.

The author gives not more than one other specimen of Buonaparte's fascinating manners, the opportunity for the display of which offered itself while he was at Elba.—He went on board the *Curaçoa* Frigate, when they were dancing, and " perceiving the Surgeon, who was a short, fat little fellow, he," (it must have been with a sort of *April* sensation), " *cried, laughing,* ' Voilà le portrait de JOHN BULL ; '—' This,' said the Midshipman who heard him, ' set us all ready to split our sides with laughing at the poor Doctor,' " and this contemptuous sneer at our national characteristic, this unfeeling wound to an unoffending officer's feelings, coming from this fellow, is recorded as a specimen of fascinating manners, judgment, wit, and particular good taste.

The author remarks, that except a ribbon and a star, there was nothing to distinguish Buonaparte from any ordinary man—why, what did he expect ? some *lusus naturæ ?* probably of the same nature as the country boy who went to the play when the King was there, and somebody pointed out His Majesty to the lad, who had never had a glimpse of royalty before. " La," said he, " be that the King, why where be his arms ? "—evidently expecting a lion and unicorn in waiting on the person.

After this interview with Buonaparte, we find our author engaged in another, which, on many accounts, is particularly interesting ;—in the first place, (not that

I should charge any man with wilful misrepresentation, from a trifling mistake as to facts or dates,) the author tells us, page 73, that having met Mr. O'Meara at the 53rd Mess, he inquired about Buonaparte very particularly, and the state of his health; Mr. O'Meara's answer deserves remark, because it was made (probably in confidence) to a partisan of the prisoner:—he says, "I asked him if it was true that Napoleon had been dangerously ill? He replied, that few men had a better constitution; that he was very regular in his mode of life, never exceeding in either eating or drinking;—generally cold and calm; that he possessed one of those favoured constitutions which nature appeared to have destined for a long life; but that want of exercise, especially on horseback, was extremely prejudicial to him, and that some symptoms of decay were already perceptible; that he was subject to *catarrhs* and *head-aches*, caused by his sedentary life."

Now here, upon the faith of a decided Buonapartist, we are told, that in July 1817, the *body physician* of the prisoner declares, that bating "some symptoms of decay" *visible at fifty*, he was subject to catarrhs and head-aches, and to nothing else; for let it be again remarked, the author of the Letters was known to be a partisan (not only by the people at Longwood, but by the Governor), and therefore Mr. O'Meara spoke fairly to him, and told him the truth, which strongly shows the absurdity of Buonaparte's memorandum, where he talks of Doctor Verling's ignorance of his constitution, of that healthy fine constitution, which, according to O'Meara, was only impaired by an occasional cough and head-ache, and sundry little inroads, which a life of fifty years actively spent would make.

But now comes another curious fact; here we have the Author in a *predicament*;—it was at the mess of the 53rd Regiment, probably "after the wine had circu-

lated pretty freely," that O'Meara told him all this.—When he gets to Longwood, he sees O'Meara there; he goes most anxiously to his room, not because he had met him, and talked to him about the great man, but, (mark the words,) "because he had unfortunately *missed an opportunity of dining in company with him?*" —In his Letter of the 5th of July he has met him at the 53rd mess; and in his letter of the 20th he has missed the opportunity of dining in company with him. This is curious; not that I mean to say that this master of a merchant-ship might not have dined with this surgeon of a King's ship fifty times, and no human being would care about it; but it is worthy of remark, because, if O'Meara did say to the author all he states him to have said, the stories of Buonaparte's serious disorders fall to the ground, upon the simple declaration of the very man who is brought to prove their existence; and if O'Meara did *not* dine with him at the 53rd mess, we may easily estimate all the other *facts* which are contained in these letters by the one which is detected not to be truth; and how he could have missed an opportunity of dining in company with him, having met him at the mess, I do not see. However, he goes to his room, and is thunder-struck at the employment he finds him engaged in. One would have imagined, by the way it is noticed, that the body physician had been flying a kite with Master Napoleon Buonaparte, or playing marble with little Miss Montholon: but instead of this, he finds him "pounding drugs in a mortar." Now, whether his astonishment arose from finding him pounding drugs, or at finding him pounding them in a mortar, does not appear; certainly there does not seem any thing miraculous in the circumstance, nor can I see the bearing of his wonder. Drug-pounding is precisely the duty to which Mr. O'Meara was adapted, and formed part of his professional labours,

and the pounding them in a mortar appears to have been the usual and readiest process of pulverisation.

But the most facetious, and yet really the most melancholy part of all this production, is the commencement of the fourth Letter, page 47, in which the author displays his great care for the comfort and prosperity of all his Saint Helena friends. He says, speaking of his correspondence,—"Should you, however, even by any chance, make their contents known, I entreat you to suppress every thing which might, in the most trifling degree, tend to discover my authors, which would infallibly be the cause of their ruin," &c., &c.

Having premised that he was anxious not to shew any body up, he begins by informing us how Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm were vastly interested about the prisoner, and how Lady Malcolm went to see him, and how he gave her a cup and saucer of the beautiful porcelain of the *Léve* manufactory, (which I conclude means *Sèvres*) of a very extraordinary pattern, according to the author's literal description of it, "a superb representation of Cleopatra's needle, and a view of Alexandria on it," *i.e.* the needle; and how her Ladyship was so delighted with this cup and saucer, that she brought it down to town herself, and being a lady of great *merit* and *goodness* (which I have no doubt she is) is, therefore, —(that is, because she is *clever* and *good*,) perfectly capable of appreciating any gift of Buonaparte's. That Sir Pulteney should be a Buonapartist seems to be natural enough; for it seems the first time Napoléon saw him, he said, "There is the physiognomy of a real gentleman;" which, I confess, I should like to have heard said in French; for except *Homme comme il faut*, the French have no expression to meet our term of gentleman, and even *Homme comme il faut* does not give the meaning.—The author of the Letters concludes that Sir Pulteney being a very sensible man, and *attached to*

the interests of his country, did not choose, whatever his desires might be, to visit Longwood frequently. Here the author confesses that the attachment to Longwood does militate a little against an attachment to the interests of one's country. If he does not mean that, he means that Sir Pulteney was too careful of *his own interests* to betray his real feelings. This compliment—for compliment it is decidedly meant to be, is as awkward a compliment as ever was made, and proves the letter-writer to be like a dirty dog, who bespatters those most whom he likes best.

In the same *cautious spirit of concealment* he tells us (p. 79), that he dined with Sir George and Lady Bingham:—"He is an excellent officer, and universally esteemed."—Most true.—"Lady Bingham is a charming and affable woman."—Nobody denies it; but she, poor soul, is lugged forward by an observation, that although she has only seen Napoleon twice, it *appears to the author* that she wishes to have some more intercourse with Longwood; but then Sir George is afraid of Sir Hudson. Nothing can be better than all this. Then there is Mr. Irving and a Major *Fehrgen!* and Captain Poppleton: all these he shews up as ready to say a great deal, and Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm at their head—and this he calls shielding the "*poor devils*" from the power of the tyrannical Governor, with whom, in the midst of all this, we find him dining at the Castle.

With much taste and discernment he pronounces Lady Lowe to be a *sprightly* woman; but she is not amiable, nor affable, nor charming, because she is not in love with Buonaparte. The term *sprightly*, applied to an accomplished woman possessing a power of fascination, with which she gladdens every circle of which she is the centre, is, as praise, much on a par with his compliments to Admiral Malcolm's prudence and Sir George Bingham's apprehensions.

That Sir Hudson did not speak much at dinner may be easily accounted for. The author found his oratorical talents damped at Longwood by the sublimity of his companion. The opposite extreme of society sometimes produces similar effects. He states, however, that he was not frightened out of his dinner, which was excellent. This was literally foraging upon the enemy, and the very fact of going to dine with a man from whom he appears to have had at the period an utter aversion and against whose character he was actually employed in writing libels, marks so complete a want of good taste and delicacy, that I quit him at the dinner table never to resume him on the subject of his Letters more, except to observe that his accounts of supplies for Longwood, if correct at the time he obtained them, are perfectly erroneous now as to quantity; and that as to the quality of water and bread, I have heard that at the period he speaks of, water was exhibited to strangers of the sort he describes, to carry on the *policy;* but that the water for the table can neither be green, nor taste of the cask, is evident from the fact that Buonaparte's silver flaggons are taken daily to the spring at Doctor Kays'. The bread, for the excellence of which I vouch, is, as I before stated, made of the very finest flour, which not being plenty in the island, *the Governor does not use in his own establishment.*

An extract of a letter, given in the Morning Chronicle of the 23rd of February, states, that "no person is seen to speak to Count Bertrand, or even to *poor* Madame Bertrand, as, independent of the proclamation, Sir Hudson Lowe has officially prohibited all intercourse with them."

As far as the first part of this paragraph goes, I may probably have accounted for the shyness of people towards Bertrand, by the statement of his conduct in the affair with Colonel Lyster: for the latter, *it is false;* for

shortly before the date of that letter, I saw Lieutenant Jackson of the Staff Corps, Doctor Verling of the Royal Artillery, and Captain Nicols of the 66th, walking with Madame Bertrand, and subsequently with Madame Montholon (who, because she is a quiet good sort of body, none of these letter-writers seem to pity in the least.) Two of these officers were in uniform, and walking in the Park of Longwood, at the moment while Sir Hudson Lowe was superintending the building of the new house; and clearly, by being then in the society of these ladies, they did not conceive they were doing any thing which could be offensive. Would they have done so had it been prohibited? The most seasonable advice to give to our friends on all these statements may be extracted from Las Cases' first Letter to Lucien Buonaparte, where he judiciously says:—"ONCE FOR ALL, SIR, PLACE NO RELIANCE ON THE NEWSPAPERS, OR THE GLARING ABSURDITIES THEY CONTAIN."

I now take leave of my Readers, and have only to assure them, that on a re-examination of my statements, I see no one fact recorded which is not given on the best authority. I am aware that anonymous publications have not equal claims on the attention of the world with avowed works. The declaration of a name, obscure and unknown as mine is, would, however, add little weight to my communications. Besides, the publications, the falsehoods of which I notice in the course of the preceding pages, with the exception of Napoleon's memoranda on Sir Thomas Reade's letter, have all been anonymous. Surely an anonymous defence may claim as much credit as an anonymous attack.

The great truths which I wish to impress upon the minds of all who think upon this subject are those, in support of which I have adduced such facts as I could positively vouch for from my *own personal knowledge*,

that the treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte, in Saint Helena, so far from being capricious or annoying,—is in every respect (with proper regard to his security) mild and gentle;—that, as I have shewn, the minutest attention is paid to the most trifling of his whims and fancies; —that, as I think I have satisfactorily proved, his table is abundantly and luxuriously supplied; his stables filled with the best horses in the island;—that every accommodation is afforded him in his residence, which is pleasant and commodious;—that his health is perfectly good, and that the climate, which is excellent, has never had a prejudicial effect upon his constitution, but that his complaints on all subjects are the effects of a concerted POLICY.—That so far from being the man of sorrow in his exile, which he would have it imagined he is, his spirits are good, and his mind, instead of being *abbatû* by the coercion and restraint he affects to murmur at, is actively at work forming contrivances for a removal from Saint Helena.

Convinced, as he is, that force can never move him, and that art, nor stratagem on the spot, can never succeed with men, whose love of their country and sense of duty are blended with a perfect knowledge of his character, he tries a higher game, and endeavours, upon the faith of his assertions, to work upon the feelings of the world to induce, as it were by acclamation, a change of place of confinement as his only chance of escape. That his gross and shameful attacks upon Sir Hudson Lowe are made against a conviction of the truth, in cold blood, as unprovoked and barbarous as the murders at Jaffa (vouched for, and recorded as truths by Sir Robert Wilson), to carry a point, to gain an end, by the destruction of character, without regard to decency or truth is most evident.

A French nobleman, *of the new school*, told me that he had heard Napoleon say that the wish nearest his

heart when he mounted the throne of France was the destruction (*anéantissement*) of England! His heartfelt hatred of our country (which shews itself in the horror he feels at the sight of a British soldier) is the real source of his hatred of confinement under an English Governor; and by blackening *his* reputation, and stigmatising *his* conduct, he hopes not only to be removed to some other place, but put under some other guardian.

But let us hope, and hope earnestly, that the Government of England will never be led away by his assertions, till better proof of Sir Hudson Lowe's tyranny or oppression can be found than in his tirades, or those of Santini or Las Cases. The latter gentleman says, speaking of Sir Hudson, "One man may be capricious, passionate, hasty, cruel, and prone to abuse authority confided to his arbitrary will." If M. Las Cases would look at Longwood, he might find a splendid illustration of his position.

The observations and philippics, although they had a strong effect upon my mind, and do most assuredly deceive the middling classes of people, and have a certain baleful influence over the community when coupled with discussions on the subject at home, can have no weight with the European Powers, whose Commissioners have been on the spot, and must *know* how exactly the reverse of all this is the truth; and while the truth is attainable, and in a country like ours, where, thank God, fair opportunities are always given for investigation and defence, the English Nation are not likely to be moved to any very violent efforts in favour of the Prisoner.—If Napoleon Buonaparte fancies that he has the smallest influence in our country, farther than the excitement of a desire that he may not be treated with unnecessary harshness, I can only say to General Buonaparte in the last words Sir Hudson Lowe ever addressed to him:—"GENERAL, I LAMENT YOUR

IGNORANCE OF THE ENGLISH NATIONAL CHARACTER." *

As for the complaints which he makes, that Sir Hudson Lowe takes upon himself to originate measures, and establish regulations, without previous reference to England, they are perfectly ridiculous. He would from these complaints have us infer that the Governor is neither more nor less than a jailor, who has no power or authority whatever of himself. While Buonaparte is within his limits, he does not assume to have any power over his person or pursuits, witness the facts that he has not seen Buonaparte for two years. That he never sought an interview with him after he declined seeing him voluntarily, and that he never visits Longwood, except to superintend the new buildings, where he is certain of not disturbing the prisoner, or intruding on his privacy; that personage never having *condescended* even to look at the house erecting for him during its progress from its foundation.†

* This was Sir Hudson's reply to a torrent of the grossest scurrility and abuse of England, and its inhabitants, that the Italian language (in which Napoleon and the Governor always conversed) could afford. and which lasted, on the part of the prisoner, literally three quarters of an hour without interruption.—*Note by Hook.*

† In the letter said to have been received from Saint Helena, in which the scurrilous falsehood about Bertrand's phaeton was inserted, it is said that the house is building in a hollow, in a bad situation, will cost thousands, and not be finished for four years. In answer to these assertions, it may be necessary to remark, that building any house is generally attended with expense; but that if the writer of the letter had considered for a moment, he would not have censured the position of the house as being in a hollow. The trade wind during part of the year blows with a certain degree of strength, and it will be found that all the houses in Saint Helena are carefully contrived so as to have the front towards the South-East sheltered. On this quarter of the new house the ground rises considerably, and the spot was chosen more particularly from the fault which Buonaparte found with his present residence, that during the seasons when the trade wind blows fresh it is too much exposed. As to the time it will require to finish the building, I state from the authority of the persons employed on it, that it will be ready for papering and decorating *in April next!—Note by Hook.*

As for issuing orders, and originating regulations, it evidently forms the most important part of the Governor's duty, as far as they relate to the better security of his charge; but according to Buonaparte's doctrine, if Sir Hudson Lowe find a spy in the bosom of the Longwood establishment, or discover a dangerous conspiracy on foot, he be to wait six or seven months for a reply to his representations home, before he take any means of scotching the serpent, or crushing the machinations with which he may have found him intercoiled. The man appointed to keep Napoleon Buonaparte secure *must have* discretionary powers. The rapid shiftings of his attacks require rapid counteraction. That he is all artifice, all policy, he does not even affect to conceal; dilatory steps and half measures are not the means by which the workings of a mind like his, solely directed with all its energies to one point, are to be opposed. In whose hands, then, could the necessary powers be better placed than in those of one who unites with the mildest manners, firmness of decision, clearness of mind, and quickness of apprehension. Attached to Prince Blücher through a march of conquests, Sir Hudson Lowe has seen enough of the public career of Buonaparte to enable him to gaze stedfastly on him, and not be dazzled; of his private disposition, and the sinuosities of his character, he is master. Add to these qualities the unceasing and unwearied attention to the great object, his safe custody, and the desire to soften, as much as is consistent, the rigour of a confinement imposed by the Kings of the earth on a general enemy to mankind; and little reason will be found, for the sake of humanity, the honour of our national character, or the safety of the prisoner, to induce a change in the place of confinement, the Governor in charge, or the regulations adopted regarding him.

Unconnected in the remotest degree with Sir Hudson Lowe, neither seeking his favour, nor fearing his anger, I speak this impartially and sincerely, from conviction founded on close observation; his firmness of duty to his Prince and country, the fortitude of a clear conscience, and the strength of his integrity, will maintain this Governor against the malice of party, or the cavillings of discontent. And indeed, while Napoleon Buonaparte is by every favourable opportunity saluted with the best regards of an *Opposition Duke*, and receives presents and marks of high esteem from an *Opposition Baron*, it cannot much mortify his guardian (however courteously remembered privately by these noblemen,) to find himself the object of attack for men of the same views and the same principles, whether in Spa-Fields, Covent Garden, or the more exalted assemblies of Westminster!

* * * *

Within the last few days some additional Letters from Count Las Cases have been offered to the world.—Had there been anything in them worthy of observation, I should have delayed this publication to have noticed it. They turn out to be part of a correspondence three years old, and merely serve to mark the intemperate insolence of their writer, and the extraordinary forbearance of the Governor, to whom they are addressed.

An additional Letter, said to be from Bertrand, dated August 1818, is introduced into the collection, which appears to be a factitious composition corroborative of the statements made in the "Letters from Saint Helena," and made up *from* the intelligence furnished by the author of them.—Precisely the same ideas present themselves, precisely the same subjects of attack are broached, and nearly in the same words.—What strengthens the doubts as to the authenticity of this

Letter, is, that M. Las Cases boasts that *his* infringement of the regulation against smuggling letters is the only one which can be established. Now, if this letter could be traced to Bertrand, it would afford another example of the same violation, and it would moreover be the duty of Sir Hudson Lowe to send him off the Island the moment he could ascertain the fact. Las Cases himself has furnished a good precedent, and if the Grand Marshal be sent to France, he will, most assuredly, be SHOT by virtue of the sentence of a Court Martial now in force against him. Thus M. Las Cases and his Editor are rather in a dilemma; for if they have *got up* the letter between them, it will lessen the weight of their publication; and if they have not, they have placed the life of their dear Grand Marshal in the scale against the vanity of publishing one of his very stupid and impertinent tirades.

In this letter the literary schipper's story of the bust of young Buonaparte is repeated *totidem verbis;* but a most important piece of information is added, by which we find that Sir Hudson Lowe had fallen under the censure, not only of the EMPEROR and his half of the world, but that even—Lady Malcolm!!! was disgusted—and who else?—The Commanders of the store-ships at Saint Helena were disgusted too.

What Lady Malcolm had to do with the business at all, is one question.—Who cares one straw whether Lady Malcolm was disgusted or not? is another question.—A third is, What importance is to be attached to the disgust of the Masters of two store-ships?—And a fourth is, How an Admiral's wife, in which capacity alone Lady Malcolm is known, could happen to be so associated?—Sir Pulteney's name is not brought forward as having been disgusted; for, as his eulogist says, "He is a very sensible, steady man, greatly attached to the interests of his country," and, excepting the one

fact of having selected an enormously large turtle for Longwood, nothing positive appears as to his conduct.

With the highest respect and admiration for the sex, to which Lady Malcolm in her proper sphere is doubtless an ornament, it might have been as well had she taken a hint from Lady Lowe, or any other woman of good sense, and have abstained from political interference, particularly in favour of the man, whose joint guardian her husband was paid for being.*

Bertrand, in this letter, notices the affair with Colonel Lyster; and, alluding to the challenge, says,—"The old man who wrote it must be out of his senses."—This anticipated verdict of lunacy (as soothing as a Coroner's) is an easy subterfuge;—it has not, however, succeeded as well as the Count might have wished, for while mounted on the pinnacle to which his presumption has exalted him, and whence he looks down on an old English officer, he is much in the same situation as a

* There is a sacredness about the very name of Englishwoman, which makes it a kind of sacrilege to hold her up to public notice, even to meet with public approbation. It was this feeling which induced me to withhold many traits of female excellence which might have been recorded in this work. As the opposite party have not the same view, and to prove that proper delicacy on the part of Lady Lowe, did not in the slightest degree interfere with attentions and politeness to the Longwood people, and still further to prove that in spite of all the *published* abuse of Sir Hudson, no spark of improper animosity was kindled either in his breast, or in that of any of his family, I shall take leave to state, that on the 11th of November last, Madame Bertrand sent a note to Lady Lowe, requesting a pattern of dresses worn by her little boy Hudson, in order that *she* might have some made of a similar sort for the young Bertrands; and that Lady Lowe, in the presence of Sir Hudson and a large party indiscriminately formed, lamented that from the lateness of the hour she should not be able to send the dress to Longwood till the morning.—If Madame Bertrand had ever felt the effects of personal disrespect, or violence done to her feelings, would she have sent such a note (only four months since)? or if a disposition to annoy or wound existed in Government House, would Lady Lowe have spoken or acted as she did on the subject?—*Note by Hook.*

man on the top of Saint Paul's, while every body appears little to him, he appears little to every body.

Much of Buonaparte's original composition is not to be found in this new publication—the fascination and elegance which he is described to possess in society pervade even his writings, scarce as they are. Take, for example, a note on Sir Hudson Lowe's letter, of the 18th of November, 1817. "This letter, and that of the 26th of July, and that of the 26th of October, are *full of lies!*"—There is a quaintness in the style of this imperial memorandum which is pleasing, as a testimony of the finished accomplishments of the illustrious author.

There is one curious passage in a letter from Las Cases to Lucien Buonaparte, which is worthy of being extracted.—It cannot but be remembered that Buonaparte every where complains of the Governor's presuming to originate regulations with himself—to alter old restrictions and make new ones; and through all the writings on the subject it is attempted to be shewn, that Sir Hudson is led into a thousand intemperate acts by personal hatred and violent animosity towards the foreigners:—Now, in page 22, Las Cases speaking of the Governor in confidence, sincerely, candidly, and without disguise to Lucien, characterises him in these words: "I should inform your Highness, that "Sir Hudson Lowe IS A MAN WHO NEVER THINKS BEYOND THE STRICT LETTER OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS, AND HAS NO FEAR BUT THAT OF BEING BLAMED FOR SWERVING FROM IT." A more complete or perfect acquittal from all the charges they are, or have been, labouring to set up against Sir Hudson could not have been recorded, than in this undisguised description of his character.—He does his duty and no more, and his only fear is deviating from his instructions.—Here is no quibbling, evading, or

perverting, and yet see how it agrees with a passage in a letter of the same Las Cases to the same Governor about the same time :—" Characteristic bitterness, native irritability, and personal hatred stimulate all your measures, and NOT the stern necessity of your public duty."

After this M. Las Cases says, that he was treated with every attention subsequent to his arrest, and that Sir Hudson offered to allow him to return to Longwood to await the decision of Ministers on his case. This he confesses he did not do, because, if he had gone back, there would have been nothing to complain of; and the *policy* was to provoke other measures, and furnish grounds for new accusations.—In short, wherever Sir Hudson has swerved from his line of duty, he has relaxed, not increased severity. Of this Earl Bathurst appears fully aware; for his Lordship concludes one of his despatches by pointing out the expediency in certain cases of not "permitting any feeling of delicacy to interfere with the strict execution of his instructions."

With reference to my remarks on the state of religion at Longwood, I observe that Las Cases says he did once ask somebody to mention the subject to the Governor. I was not aware they had gone even so far as this. The reason Las Cases gives for not having made the request is, that he was afraid of being laughed at. This shews a certain degree of consciousness of what public opinion is as to the morals of Buonaparte and his Court.—No man, without a very strong internal conviction of his own unworthiness, could imagine that requiring the aid of a Minister of the Church would subject him to ridicule.*

* A Priest has actually embarked for Saint Helena, *at the request of Cardinal Fesch*. Probably this measure has been taken to meet *similar* observations to those which I made at page 78 [222];—at all events, the coincidence is curious.—*Note by Hook.*

NAPOLEON IN ST. HELENA

The introduction to the Letters of Las Cases contains some indecent allusions to the conduct of the Monarchs who have consigned Buonaparte to Saint Helena, which must do more harm than good to the cause in support of which they are written, because the great question of Buonaparte's exile has nothing to do with the subject under discussion. All the flourishes about his healing the wounds of France, and fatally trusting to England, might have been spared; for after wasting many pages in endeavouring to prepossess his English readers in favour of the cause, by abusing the British nation and character, the author is obliged to sink the question before he can commence his attack.

These invectives, coming from the pen of a native of the United Kingdom, are injudicious, and the allusions to the probable purposes to which Saint Helena may shortly be appropriated, still more so:—that they are perfectly nonsensical is no qualification, because every man, however much he may wish (and who does not?) that Buonaparte should enjoy every accommodation consistent with his situation, must revolt at the insinuation that Saint Helena may become the prison of those to whom not only the laws and constitution, but the best feelings of our nature, bind us in ties of duty and affection.

The author of the Introduction and Notes, who has betrayed himself by his personal violence against Sir Hudson, informs us that this officer was *not* born in the United Kingdom, but in some foreign garrison. What is meant to be gained by this information?—If it be the case, it matters little where a man first see the light, nor can he very well be accountable for it; but suppose that Sir Hudson were born on the shores of the Mediterranean—let us go farther—suppose (which is not the case) that his parents had been born on the shores of the Mediterranean before him—what then? Upon their

own system he would not make the worse *English* General for that,—Napoleon Buonaparte was born in Corsica, of Corsican parents, and yet they say he made a great Emperor of the *French*.

With respect to the Introduction, it goes to the old point—removal.—It is this great object which they have in view, and for which every struggle is to be made.—Indeed, Las Cases himself, in a letter to Sir Hudson, after having said with a sly cunning not likely to deceive his correspondent "No one amongst us believes escape possible, and therefore it is not *thought of*," informs him that "as to the Emperor Napoleon, he still continues to cherish the same ideas and desire by which he was animated upon his free and confiding embarkation on board the *Bellerophon*, that of endeavouring to seek tranquillity and retirement in the United States of America, or even England, under the protection of its laws."

No man, however, I should hope, would be weak enough to be imposed upon by the expressed moderation of Buonaparte's wishes—by him who has been (doubtless for some wise purpose) so miraculously exalted, the shade of difference between a residence in Scotland and one in Saint Helena would not be considered an object worthy of the struggle he is making for a change of place of confinement.—With him REMOVAL AND ESCAPE ARE SYNONYMOUS.—With his opinion of his own weight and influence, what does escape not present to his view?—Wars, desolation, and murder for his enemies; fame and revenge for himself—the thirst for the latter of which is now added to his detestation of our country, and all his other demon-like qualities. The world should recollect the stake he plays for, and recollecting that, should doubt every assertion he makes, question every word he utters, and suspect every action he commits. Is it to be supposed that he

would hesitate to criminate, even to destruction, those who are bound to shackle his will, and bind him in custody?—Why should he?—Is there more crime in libelling Earl Bathurst, or Sir Hudson Lowe, to carry the greatest point man probably ever had to carry, than in the murders of the Duc d'Enghien, our poor countryman Wright, or the five hundred helpless wretches destroyed in cold blood at one swoop as a mere matter of convenience?—Is the man capable of all this to be believed, with every thing depending on his efforts to escape, in his assertions affecting others, those assertions tending to that object? Is he who went back from Elba the instant an opportunity offered, to be trusted when he talks of retirement, and living quietly under the laws of England?—He respects no laws—he keeps no faith—COUNTRYMEN! TRUST HIM AND YE ARE DECEIVED. WHERE HE IS, THERE LET HIM REMAIN, AND THE CURSE OF AN OUTRAGED WORLD BE ON THE HEAD OF HIM WHO WOULD RELEASE HIM.[1]

[1] In the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1819 there appeared a reply to Hook's extravagant pamphlet: "What shall we say," it says, "of the spirit that vents itself in vulgar, personal abuse, of one so fallen that the terrors of his name alone remain upon our memory; and which takes every occasion of mocking the very impotence which ought to be his safeguard from insult? There is hardly a page of this performance in which such disgusting exhibitions of ungenerous insolence do not stand out from the other defects of the work and form its most hateful feature."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX: T. H. BROOKE

THE following letters have never before been published in book form. They appeared originally in *The Sphere* newspaper for September 10th and 17th, 1904; came into my possession through the courtesy of Mr. Arrowsmith, the well-known publisher of Bristol. They were written from St. Helena by Thomas Henry Brooke, who was secretary to the Governor of St. Helena, during the period covered by Major Wilkes, Sir Hudson Lowe, and his successor, Governor Walker. Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us in his *Autobiography* that his aunt, with whom he frequently stayed in his youth, was a granddaughter of a governor of St. Helena, Mr. Brooke, but this is not quite accurate, Mr. Brooke never having been really governor. On two occasions, however, he temporarily filled the post until the new governor arrived. The obituary notice of him in the *Plymouth Herald* for June 23rd, 1849, perhaps summarises his career sufficiently:—

> "At Plymouth, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, Thomas Henry Brooke, Esq., late of the H.E.I.C.'s Civil Service in the island of St. Helena, during a period of forty-four years, in the course of which the temporary government twice devolved on him, in the first instance having succeeded Sir Hudson Lowe. He was a zealous coadjutor of Governor Sir H. Lowe in establishing with concurrence of the inhabitants a measure for effecting the progressive abolition and final extinction of slavery in the island, and was afterwards equally the supporter of Governor Walker in accelerating the fulfilment of that object. The public are indebted to Mr. Brooke for the only detailed account of St. Helena from its first discovery in 1501 to the year 1806, continued in a second edition to 1833."

There are several references to Mr. Brooke in O'Meara and other contemporary writers.

October 18th, 1815.

We have not yet recovered from our amazement at the event of so extraordinary a visit as that from Napoleon Buonaparte. He arrived on Sunday, the 14th inst., and as soon as the ship anchored I went

off to the admiral with a message from the governor, but did not then see the great man. Sir G. Cockburn came on shore immediately, and after a long private conference with Colonel Wilkes, the governor, they both went off together, when the latter was introduced to this wonderful man. Longwood is fixed on for his residence, but as he evinced something like despondency whilst confined on board ship in the roads, a house in town was prepared for him until the necessary preparations for his reception should be made at Longwood, and he landed yesterday evening at dusk.

I believe so large a crowd was never witnessed at St. Helena before. He observed it from the ship, and expressed dissatisfaction. Sir G. Cockburn told me that he seemed to feel considerable distress on the occasion. A message, however, from the ship soon cleared the wharf and line of the crowd, but the square within the line gate was very much thronged, and as soon as Napoleon entered he was nearly surrounded. He wore a grey greatcoat, which he threw off as soon as he entered the house. The street was still crowded, everyone anxious to catch a glance whilst he walked up and down the room. I had occasion to go to the admiral, whom I met at the door. After a few words he said, "Come, will you see Buonaparte?" and immediately called to Bertrand, to whom I had been introduced that morning, and requested he would announce me as Secretary to Government, and author of "The History of St. Helena." I was accordingly ushered up to Buonaparte, who was standing, and introduced in regular form. His first words were "Hah! L'auteur de 'l'Histoire de St. Hélène.'" He then said he had read it on the passage. He asked me if I was born at St. Helena. I said, "No, sir, I am a native of Ireland." "Hah! How long have you been here?" "Three-and-twenty years." "Are you married?" "Yes, sir." "I suppose you have married a creole?" "I have married a native of the island descended from British parents." "Hah! Is the governor in town or at Plantation House?" Having answered this question, I observed that I trusted he would find the interior of the island more prepossessing in appearance than the first view of it might lead him to expect. After having made some other remarks he seemed not inclined to ask any more questions and looked very thoughtful, on which I made my bow, and in retiring he desired I would present his salutations to the governor. So ended my first visit to Napoleon. . . . Buonaparte's arrival here will occasion the loss of our inestimable governor, Colonel Wilkes, whom Ministers think it necessary to supersede by a King's officer. We, however, derive some consolation from the handsome manner in which this is to be effected. He is to have

an equivalent for the loss of his government, and a ship is to be provided to take him home. The Court of Directors express deep regret at being deprived of his services, and Ministers themselves lament the necessity which makes it proper for them to resort to such a measure. Some have said that a popular governor is incompatible with the character of an honest man. At all events, we see an instance to the contrary in our present governor, who is adored by all ranks and classes, unless perhaps by those few who have been made to suffer for misconduct.

T. H. BROOKE.

ST. HELENA, *January 3rd*, 1816.

A few weeks ago I paid another visit to Buonaparte, who received me on the lawn in front of Balcombe's house. His first words were, "Hah, monsieur, are you come from the town or the country? Where is your country house? How far from Longwood? Is it large? Have you a good garden? What is the value of your property?" In short, he questioned me so very particularly about my cabin and grounds that at last I told him I should be happy to have the honour of showing him my place whenever he felt disposed to look at it.

Upon this he bowed and seemed much pleased. What amusement was to be derived from "la chasse" at St. Helena was the next subject of inquiry; he then asked me if I played at chess, if the governor played, whether I had ever played with him, and who beat. I answered sometimes one and sometimes the other; which produced an Hah-hah-hah, nodding his head as much as to say, "Oh, that is very fair." He then asked me a number of questions relative to the early history of the island, the settlements here, and of the French Protestants, whether they had any descendants now here—the amount of the present population, of the slaves, of the number of estates, the stock of cattle, the state of cultivation, etc. His dinner being announced, he said he would return after dining provided it proved fine, but as it set in for rain, and he had a cold, I saw no more of him on that day.

During our conversation one of the Miss Balcombes held a black puppy dog close up to him to admire, and on his saying with a smile that it was very pretty she offered it to him. He laughed, but declined the present. On another occasion, one of them said, "Emperor, won't you give us a ball after you become settled at Longwood?" He answered, "No, but I will give you plenty of plum cake as often as you come to see me." Upon his leaving the Briars he gave the family a general invitation to his house, and presented Balcombe

with a very valuable snuff-box to testify how sensible he was of all his attention.

Mrs. Pritchard called one evening at the Briars, and amongst other attentions she received from Buonaparte, he presented her with some Spanish liquorice, which he carries in a box in the form of pills. After she had swallowed some of them she recollected the accusation against Buonaparte of poisoning his sick in the hospital at Jaffa, which alarmed her so exceedingly that she took a hasty leave, and in the utmost horror at being poisoned went home with the view of applying for medical aid as quickly as possible. The communication of her apprehensions, however, was received with such bursts of laughter that she was obliged to join in the mirth herself, and no longer insisted upon taking an emetic. Buonaparte went to his residence at Longwood on the 10th of December. He has been very solicitous with Sir George Cockburn to relax somewhat in the restrictions imposed on his person, particularly in regard to his being accompanied by an officer whenever he goes beyond the cordon of sentries; but on finding that the admiral, although he answered with the greatest good-humour, was nevertheless very peremptory, Napoleon laughed and submitted with a good grace. One of his requests was that he might be styled *Emperor*. He seems to take an interest in the farming concerns at Longwood, and the other day amused himself by ploughing until he was tired. He has got the carriage which Governor Wilkes brought out with him, and lately has procured four horses for it from the Cape; they immediately drew it up to Longwood, where he was expecting it impatiently. He instantly got in and made the postillions drive him about the wood whilst he sat laughing in the greatest delight. I have seen the Countess Bertrand several times since my last letter to you was written. She is good-natured and unaffected, and I believe does not want feeling. She appears to be a favourite with Mrs. Skelton, who is certainly a clever woman. I had a good deal of chat with Countess Bertrand the other day at Plantation House, where I happened to sit by her at dinner. She expressed great fear that Blücher would seize upon her valuable services of plate and of Sèvres porcelain which she had left at Paris. When dressed, and in a ballroom, she may be called an elegant woman, and had she more flesh she would almost be beautiful.

T. H. Brooke.

The next letter of our series is not by Mr. Brooke, although it was found among his family papers at Plymouth. It is by a British officer at St. Helena whose name I do not know. It contains certain

interesting facts that are not in the many books that give us a record of this period :—

ST. HELENA, *February 7th*, 1816.

Buonaparte was taken by Sir George Cockburn the day of his arrival to visit Longwood. He rode as far as Miss Mason's, and on returning to town they went to the Briars, where he seated himself and expressed such an abhorrence at the idea of returning to James Town and so strong a desire to remain there that the admiral permitted his doing so. His baggage was therefore immediately sent for and he accordingly took up his abode at the house lately built on the top of the hill; this building being rather small, particularly as he was accompanied by the Comte de Las Cases and his son; in a few days a large tent was added in front, which made an excellent drawing-room.

The Emperor continued to pass his time tolerably well. His breakfast hour was 12, from 4 to 6 he walked in the garden, which was always kept private for him during these hours, from 6 to 7 he frequently walked on the grass in the front of the house with the females of Balcombe's family; the two young ladies are particularly lively and speak French, which was a great source of amusement to him. He dined at 7, and afterwards he was frequently with Balcombe's family at cards when they had not much company. Between breakfast-time and 4 o'clock he was employed in writing his life, in which he was assisted by all about him, particularly Las Cases, who is very clever. He was very anxious to get the "*Annual Register*" as far back as 1792. I happened to have it, and sent it; it proved to be most acceptable. Las Cases is an excellent English scholar. This circumstance produced an introduction to Buonaparte, and he expressed a desire to see me; he had before admired my little cottage and garden in looking down upon them. I, of course, accepted Balcombe's invitation to dinner, and in the evening had the honour of being introduced, and also of being opposed to him at a game of whist. He plays ill, and I beat him. During the evening he asked a great number of questions, looked at my height with astonishment, told me he had seen me walking about my garden with my wife and children, and that he admired the garden, but wondered that it was not swept away by the torrents in rainy weather. I told him I should feel honoured by his visiting me, etc. It appears astonishing that so great a man should be so much occupied by trifles; like some other Frenchmen he is amused with toys and nonsense. While we were at cards he encouraged me to look at and admire his snuff-box; he also made me take a pinch of his snuff, which was abominably bad. He

used the coin napoleon for markers, and was pleased when Las Cases put one into my hand to look at. He sat in an attitude for me to compare his face with the one on the coin, and gave me a smile and a nod of approbation when I said it was very like him. During the time he passed at the Briars each day pretty nearly resembled another. He never went from the place, as he found he must go attended by an English officer, who always remained at the house during his stay there. One evening, he took a walk to the end of the wall at the side path road, and seeing that I was at home with my family and no others he ventured down with Las Cases. I, of course, went out to meet him; he came into the house, looked about, and seemed very well pleased with it and the garden, which he walked over, paid Mrs. Hudson a great many fine compliments, and took a great deal of notice of the children. He was particularly struck with the youngest boy (who, by the bye, is handsome), and said he was a fine boy, and he knew was the most wicked of them all, although at that moment he looked perfectly the reverse. He happened, however, to be quite right. After staying a good while with us I mounted them both on horseback, and they returned to the Briars in the dark. He gave the servants who attended him home some napoleons. The admiral has been astonishingly expeditious in fitting up Longwood for his reception, and on the 10th of December he quitted the Briars for that place.

He has been furnished with horses from the Cape, and a carriage purchased from Colonel Wilkes. He rides out on horseback generally every day. His usual ride is about Longwood, and into Fisher's and Beal's valleys, then he proceeds towards Miss Mason's orchards and returns by way of the Hutts's. The Countess Bertrand told me yesterday that he had named that the "Valley of Silence" as he seldom met anybody there. He rides exceedingly hard and is regardless of any road; when he wants to get to the top of a hill he goes directly up, takes hold of the horse's mane, puts his spurs to its sides and ascends at a gallop, to the great annoyance of all his followers. He will soon require a new set of horses. In his rides he is fond of talking to the slaves, occasionally gives them gold, and has, in fact, already got into all their good graces. He deplores the condition of slavery, and encourages those who have any pretensions to claim their freedom; consequently examinations to that effect are daily taking place at the police office.

Buonaparte one day rode with the admiral to Arno's Vale round Rock Rose Hill into Sandy Bay and called at Mr. Doveton's, with whose place he was delighted. He returned by the Plantation House

gate and home by Brooke's. He has never visited at the P. H. A few days afterwards he rode out with an English officer who has charge of him, but he soon rode away from him, and galloped off as fast as he could to Rock Rose Hill. The officer had entirely lost sight of him and took another direction; when he got to Rock Rose he was met by Mrs. Seale, Mr. S. being from home. He without waiting a moment went to the rear of the house and towards Powell's Valley, where he remained a considerable time with Bertrand; it so happened that no guard was at *that* time stationed there. After his curiosity was satisfied he returned to the house (nobody knows how far he went), ate some cake and drank wine with Mrs. Seale, and returned home late in the evening, since which he has not ridden accompanied by the English officer. In fact, when he was told that he could not go without one he said that he would "rather die than take exercise so accompanied." He is permitted to ride unaccompanied within the cordon of sentries, which makes a ride sufficiently extensive for all the purposes of exercise.

This great man has not been seen by many people: Mr. Doveton called upon him a few days after he visited him at Sandy Bay. The governor has called twice, but he has not yet returned his visit.

He has given very few invitations to Longwood; they have consisted of only three or four to a few of the senior officers of the 53rd. The admiral has only dined with him once by invitation, and the same day he invited Maria and myself; you may be sure I gladly accepted, but I had a great difficulty in prevailing on her to accompany me, but she did.

We were received in due form; he still carries on court nonsense, and if one did not know how matters really are one might still imagine him an emperor in his own dominions when presented to him. Maria had the honour of being seated on his right hand, and he was much more civil and attentive than I thought he could be, for he is by no means a courtier in his manners. To the French he is overbearing. You would suppose that their very existence depended on his smiles. If he deigns to look graciously on any of them they are transported with delight, and when he looks frowningly (which is much the most frequent expression of his countenance) it sinks them to the earth. They always walk in his company with their hats off. While at dinner they are afraid to speak above a whisper, and their conversation, if you can call it such, is confined to answering questions asked by him.

The day we were there I sat next the Countess Bertrand, and was therefore pleasantly situated. She talked aloud to the admiral (who

sat on her other side) and myself, and the great man seemed unusually good-humoured and condescending; indeed, all were permitted to use their tongues to some degree. Las Cases sat on my other side; he is a great favourite and takes the liberty of speaking more than any of the others. As he as well as Madame Bertrand both speak English I felt quite at home. He paid much attention to Maria and helped her to all the delicacies at table, of which there were a great many. The cookery was uncommonly good, and the confectionery surpasses anything of the kind I have ever seen. Every article made use of at dinner is either of gold or silver; nearly as much of the former as the latter. His dessert, tea, and coffee sets of porcelain are the most elegant things I ever saw—each piece of china is adorned with landscapes taken in Egypt, and in every saucer the head and shoulders of some famed Turk. These paintings were executed by some of the most eminent artists in Europe assembled for the purpose, and he assured me that each piece cost £25. The only part of the dinner I disliked was the custom of rising before the cloth was removed. After dinner it is usual to play at cards until the Emperor feels disposed to retire, which he does by making his bow and marching off, leaving his company to depart as they please. His servants were all dressed in a superbly-embroidered livery; in fact, you might take them for so many general officers standing behind the chairs. The embroidery resembles that on the generals' coats only that it is silver. He has, in addition to his own servants, persuaded the admiral to give him six English sailors for servants. These fellows he has dressed up as fine as possible with green coats and all the gold lace that could be got on the island. The man is really as fond of such toys as a child, and I think it may be very easy to satisfy him and his people here by sending them some fine things now and then, such as a new coach occasionally, and as the French are all miserable without cocked hats, a supply of these very necessary articles ought to be sent sometimes. Captain Piontikaioski, a Pole, arrived from England a few days ago, having devoted himself to Buonaparte. He happened to have a very fine cocked hat, which General Montholon took a fancy to, and insisted on taking it from him. While the Emperor was walking in his garden a few days ago the poor captain went up to him and complained of the general's conduct, stating that the hat was a remarkably elegant one, that it had been made in England on purpose for him in the French fashion, and was presented to him by an English nobleman. The Emperor called General M. immediately into his presence and said, "Sir, what made you take Captain Piontikaioski's hat?" "Sire, because mine is worn out and I wanted it." The

Emperor decreed that the Pole should have his hat again, which was immediately delivered up to its delighted owner. This poor man after following Buonaparte here is not admitted to his table entirely owing to the jealousy of the others. I believe it arose merely from Buonaparte's having walked with him for three hours the first day of his arrival at St. Helena. Montholon forbid him the table on the plea that none but general officers were to be admitted. They have contrived to persuade him that Captain P. came out as an English spy. Buonaparte's physician informed him to-day of the execution of Murat; he received the information with the greatest composure and without the least change of countenance, and calmly said, "He was a great fool."

ST. HELENA, *May 12th*, 1821.

Before this letter can reach you you will have heard that Buonaparte died on the evening of the 5th inst. This event has produced no small sensation here. For some weeks past it was known that he was indisposed, but on the morning of the 4th I was thunderstruck on being abruptly told by Sir Hudson Lowe that Buonaparte was dying. On the night of the 5th I received a notification from the governor that dissolution had taken place and that my attendance was desired at Longwood the following morning at 6 o'clock precisely to view the body. I was overtaken on the road about daybreak by the governor and his staff, and in a short time we were joined by the Marquis de Montchenu, Admiral Lambert, General Coffin, Mr. Greentree, some of the captains of the navy, the commanding officer of artillery, and the head of the commissariat department; six medical gentlemen were also in attendance. Our whole party, consisting of about twenty persons, was ushered into the room where the body was laid. The only alteration I could observe in the face since I had seen it in life was that it was not quite so full, but a finer face I never saw. The expression was calm and placid, and a crucifix was deposited on the breast, and in an adjoining room was an altar with decorations and his priest; upon a table near the foot of the bed stood a picture of young Napoleon and on another table a bust. The bedstead was the same one he had used in his campaigns. After remaining long enough to be perfectly satisfied as to the identity of the corpse we withdrew. In the afternoon of the same day it was publicly announced that the body might be seen by any respectable persons between the hours of 4 and 6, and amongst the crowds who were eager to avail themselves of the sight were Mrs. Brooke, Agnes, Captain Power, and myself a second time. Some new arrangements had taken place since

the morning. The body had been removed to another chamber hung and floored with black cloth. At the head of the room stood the altar highly decorated. Over the body was suspended a glass chandelier, and the priest stood on one side near the head, and on the other side was Count Bertrand.

Madame Bertrand and her daughter stood next the priest, and Count Montholon was at the foot of the corpse, which was dressed in the full uniform of the French National Guards, the hat, boots, and spurs on, and the sword lying by the left side. The crucifix was still on the breast, the hands were exposed to view, and so uncommonly beautiful as to be the subject of general remark, and sometimes even of exclamation. The face had sunk since I had seen it in the morning, but still retained its placid expression, and had acquired somewhat the appearance of a smile. We bowed respectfully to the French party as we approached the corpse, and the salutation was returned in a solemn but very affable manner, and our exit was made through a different door to make way for the crowd that was pressing in. During the day the body had been opened and the intestines taken out. After 6 that evening such of the soldiers as desired were permitted to see it, and during several hours the following day all restrictions were removed from those who had any curiosity, and I understand that the French people were rather gratified at the numbers who crowded for the purpose. His death, I understand, was caused by ulcers of a cancerous nature in his stomach. He said his father had died of the same disorder.

He was aware of his situation, and appeared quite sensible although speechless the morning he died. He lay quietly on his back. At one time his hands were observed tremulously approaching each other, and as soon as the fingers touched he clasped them together, and remained some time in that position. He has made a will. The 10th instant was fixed for his burial, the spot for which was one he had mentioned as the place he should desire to be laid in were he to be interred here. You may recollect a cottage that belonged to old Sampell in a valley between the Hutts's gate and Dr. Kay's house. It is in sight of the road leading to Longwood, and is the property of Torbett, the shopkeeper. A little above this cottage is a remarkably fine spring of water, shaded by willow trees, and it was from thence that water was daily supplied in two silver vases for the special use of Buonaparte. Here men were employed night and day in excavating a tomb eleven feet deep faced with masonry.

At ten in the morning of the 10th the troops formed on one side of the road from Longwood gate, nearest to which was the 20th Regi-

ment forming the right of the line, next the marines of the fleet, on their left again was posted the 66th Regiment, and on the left line the St. Helena volunteers. About half a mile farther on the Royal Artillery were posted with eleven field pieces, the whole of the troops under arms mustering about 1,800 men. At 12 o'clock the governor, the French commissioner, the admiral, members of the council, the staff, naval and medical officers, and some others assembled at Longwood House.

The French people celebrated high mass in their chapel whilst we remained on the lawn. This being over Count Montholon made his appearance and requested the company to walk in. We were received in the drawing-room by Madame Bertrand and the whole French party, except the priest, who remained with the body. Twelve grenadiers of the 20th Regiment, who had been kept in waiting, were then called in, passed through the drawing-room, and proceeded to the apartment where the body was laid. The company then arranged themselves on each side of the drawing-room, whilst the corpse was carried out, preceded by the priest in a rich canonical dress, with a silver censer in one hand and a book in the other, repeating a prayer. Young Bertrand followed with a vase of holy water. The French party followed immediately after the corpse, and the British functionaries after, the governor, the admiral, and the French commissioner bringing up the rear. The body of Buonaparte's carriage had been taken off the springs and replaced by a stage surmounted by a canopy so as to form a hearse; then followed Madame Bertrand and her daughter in a phaeton covered with black cloth. After them such midshipmen and lieutenants of the navy as attended the funeral, then staff and medical officers and naval captains according to rank, juniors first on horseback, the rear brought up by the members of the council, General Coffin, the admiral, the Marquis de Montchenu and the governor. In passing the troops the band of each corps played a funeral dirge or dead march. When the procession had passed the left of the line the troops then followed, left in front, until the hearse reached the path which branches off from the high road down to the tomb. The body was then carried by a party consisting of three men from each corps. Upon its being lowered into the tomb three salvos were fired from the field pieces, which, together with the infantry, were disposed in line upon the road above. After this the priest again repeated some prayers and sprinkled something out of the censer, which concluded the ceremony.

T. H. Brooke.

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